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ACCULTURATIVE STRESSORS, ETHNIC IDENTITY, AND PSYCHOLOGICAL

WELL-BEING AMONG IMMIGRANTS AND SECOND-GENERATION

INDIVIDUALS

by

MONA ABOUGUENDIA Ⓒ

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial

fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF EDUCATION

in

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled ACCULTURATIVE STRESSORS, ETHNIC IDENTITY, AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING AMONG IMMIGRANTS AND SECOND-GENERATION INDIVIDUALS submitted by MONA ABOUGUENDIA in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF EDUCATION in COUNSELLING PSYCHOLOGY.

ABSTRACT

Substantial research has focused on the acculturation process of immigrants, however, less research has looked at the experience of second-generations, or individuals born in North America whose parents are immigrants. An understanding of their experiences is crucial, as this is a rapidly growing segment of the North American population. The current study examined psychological well-being, acculturation stressors, and ethnic identity among 105 immigrants and 82 second-generations. The importance of considering the acculturation experience of second-generations as unique from immigrants' is highlighted in the findings. Comparisons revealed that second-generations experienced greater depression and lower self-esteem than immigrants. Furthermore, second-generations experienced greater ingroup and family stressors, whereas immigrants experienced greater outgroup stressors. The generations did not differ in identifying with the ingroup, however, immigrants indicated higher identification with the outgroup than second-generations. Prediction of depression and self-esteem revealed further differences between the generations, as did additional analyses between the variables of interest.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

<u>Rationale for the Study</u>

The flux of immigration has become an international phenomenon. In addition to traditional receiving countries such as Canada, the United States, and Australia, an increasing number of other countries are becoming host to individuals who have emigrated. Though difficult to attain world-wide immigration statistics, it is estimated that 100 million individuals reside outside of their culture of origin (Russel & Teitlebaum, 1992). Canada and the United States alone bring in over one million immigrants per annum (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1999; United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1999). Moreover, it is widely agreed that these numbers will continue to increase in the next several years (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001).

The term *immigrant* typically refers to individuals who voluntarily relocate to a new country with the intentions of permanent resettlement there. While immigrants are attracted to a new country in search for personal, social, familial, and political goals, the most motivating force is the financial factor (Winter-Ebmer, 1994). Given that economic factors are the greatest motivational force behind immigration, immigration patterns generally reflect movements to industrialized and economically secure countries. Canada's immigration statistics confirm this pattern; for the last five years, Canada has on average admitted 223,000 per year (Citizenship and Immigration Canada,

1999). This influx of immigrants has inevitably resulted in increased ethnic and cultural diversity in Canada. In fact, Berry (1984) points out that in Canada, no single ethnic group represents a majority.

The arrival of individuals into new countries raises a number of interesting questions. Do immigrants continue to behave in ways similar to the ways they did in their countries of origin? Do they completely take on behaviors of the host culture? Or do they find a compromise between the two cultures and adjust their behavior accordingly? Cross-cultural research indicates that though all three take place, it is the latter that is the most common solution, a response that combines both stability and modifications in behavior patterns (Schmitz, 2001). However, this tendency is not as simple as it may first appear. Distinct differences in behavioral adaptation across individuals and cultural groups have been observed. Additionally, it has been shown that the extent of behavioral adjustment varies across contexts, from the home, workplace, school, and social activities. Furthermore, certain behaviors are more receptive to change; for example, overt behavior is more readily changed than core value systems. The changes that groups and individuals experience when they come into contact with another culture is known as *acculturation* (Williams & Berry, 1991). Acculturation encompasses the psychological, social, and cultural facets of the adaptation process and outcome. Schmitz (2001) aptly describes that "acculturation cannot be understood as a simple process of reaction to changes in the cultural context

but rather as an active and sometimes a creative dealing with challenges experienced by immigrants when confronted with cultural changes" (p. 230).

Another group of questions then arise concerning the psychological effects of immigration on the individual. Research shows that the acculturation process can be a stressful experience for immigrants (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; Berry & Kim, 1998; Flaskerud & Uman, 1996) as they are faced with a number of challenges pertaining to decisions around preserving or altering their behaviors, identity, beliefs, and values. Immigration to a new country introduces a plenitude of difficulties which according to Berry and Kim (1988), can be grouped into the following categories: *Physical* (new climates, search for residence), *biological* (changes in diet, disease), *social* (leaving friends and forming new relationships), *linguistic* (different language), *cultural* (differences in political, economic, and religious ideologies), and *psychological* (challenges to previously held attitudes, values, and mental health indications).

In aggregate, these challenges may produce what is termed *acculturative stress* or "the physiological and psychological state of depression, anxiety, and confusion resulting from the experience of acculturation-related stressors in the environment" (Berry et al., 1987, p. 492). The experience of acculturative stress appears to have significant impact on the psychological well-being of immigrants, including depression, anxiety, feelings of marginalization and estrangement, increased psychosomatic symptoms, and identity confusion (e.g., Berry, 1997; Berry & Sam, 1997; Harris-Reid, 1999). The notion of acculturative stress is manifested in the chronic stressors faced by immigrants.

Berry (1990) specified that in order "to qualify as acculturative stress, these changes should be related in a systematic way to known features of the acculturation process". Most researchers have adopted a "stress and coping" perspective on cross-cultural transition, while relatively few researchers have carefully examined the actual stressors stemming from the acculturation process. In the literature to date, the few exceptions (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001; Dion, Dion, & Pak, 1992; Kuo & Tsai, 1986; Lay & Nguyen 1998) however, suggest that acculturation-specific stressors, (i.e., stressors arising from the acculturation process), can be an important predictor of psychological distress among immigrant and minority individuals.

However, the amount of stress stemming from the acculturation process, and the short- and long-term reactions to this stress differs across individuals. In fact, some research suggests that the acculturation experience does not inevitably produce distress (Jayasurija, Sang, & Fielding, 1992, as cited in Ward et al., 2001). Berry (1992) describes that while some immigrants experience distress, others may experience eustress, or positive stress: "acculturation sometimes enhances one's life chances and mental health and sometimes virtually destroys one's ability to carry on; the eventual outcome for any particular individual is affected by other variables that govern the relationship between acculturation and stress" (p. 285). The variables that serve to moderate the relationship between the acculturation experience and stress are numerous, and include the nature and characteristics of the host society (Berry, 1998), immigrants' knowledge of the host language (Padilla,

Cervantes, Maldonado, & Garcia, 1998), the availability of social support

(Ward et al., 2001), personality factors (Ward et al., 2001), and various

premigration variables (e.g., Mirkin, 1998). Thus, whether acculturative stress

can be interpreted as eustress (stress that improves the acculturating

individuals' quality of life and positively impacts their sense of well-being) or

distress (stress hindering adjustment) depends on a multitude of interrelated

factors, which speaks to the complexity of the acculturation experience.

Although a substantial amount of research has focused on the

acculturation process and psychological adjustment of immigrants, there is a

smaller, though increasing, body of research concerning the experiences and

well-being of second-generation individuals, that is, individuals born in Canada

whose parents are immigrants (Lay & Verkuyten, 1999; Portes, 1996; Portes &

Zhou, 1993; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992; Waldinger & Perlmann, 1998).

Although these individuals have not been directly socialized in their heritage

cultures, they usually acquire various aspects of their cultures via their parents

and interactions with their ethnic community (Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981).

Park (1999) also includes individuals who immigrated to the host country

before the age of five years as second-generation, due to their comparable

number of years of education and socialization in the host country with those

actually born in the host country. As well, for these individuals, migration took

place at a time when full enculturation into their heritage culture was not

adequately advanced (Sam, 2000). Models of acculturation, identity, and

psychological well-being that were developed in consideration of immigrants

likely do not apply to their children who did not directly experience the migratory process. It is then unlikely that such models serve to explain the potentially unique experiences of second-generation individuals.

Much of the literature concerning second-generation individuals addresses whether "the new second generation" will achieve middle class status (e.g., Portes, 1996, Portes & Zhou, 1993), and the school performance of both second-generation children and adolescents (e.g., Gibson & Ogbu, 1991; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). Thus, it becomes clear that the bulk of literature in this area is primarily concerned with academic achievement and economic achievement in the work force of second-generation individuals.

Therefore, there is a lack of research systematically examining the experiences, attitudes, and psychological well-being of second-generation individuals as unique from those of their immigrant counterparts. An understanding of their unique situation is crucial for two reasons. First, as is indicated by North American immigration statistics and projections, this is a rapidly growing segment of the North American population. And second, a small body of research that has been conducted seems to suggest that despite not experiencing first-hand many of the stressors associated with migration, second-generation individuals are more vulnerable to psychological distress than was previously expected. For example, Rumbaut (1994) found that lower self-esteem was related to being the child of an immigrant. Abouguendia and Noels (2001) found in their sample of South Asians, there

was a tendency for second-generation individuals to have lower self-esteem than immigrants. Similarly, Heras and Revilla (1994) found that second-generation individuals reported significantly lower self-esteem and self-concept than did immigrants. Recent studies also indicate that American born ethnic minorities have higher incidence rates of psychiatric illnesses as compared to their immigrant counterparts (Escobar, 1998; Vega et al., 1998). In fact, Vega and his colleagues determined that the incidence of psychiatric disorders among second-generation individuals was two times higher than among immigrants. Therefore, investigation into why these differences in psychological adjustment may exist is warranted and crucial, particularly at a time when second-generation individuals will comprise a considerable portion of the population.

Purpose of the Study

The first objective of this study is to compare immigrant and second-generation individuals with respect to their levels of psychological adjustment, their experiences, and their ethnic identity (i.e., the extent one feels they belong to a particular ethnic group). The second objective is to determine whether different stressors differentially predict adjustment in both groups. The final objective is to explore the relationship between ethnic identity and the acculturation stressors.

At the onset, some terms will be defined for the purposes of the study. *Immigrants* refers to individuals who voluntarily moved to Canada with the intentions of permanently living here. *Second-generation individuals* refers to

individuals born in Canada whose parents are immigrants; this will also include individuals who migrated to Canada at or before the age of five years. Three broad cultural groups will be looked at in this study. For the purposes of this study, *South Asian* will refer to individuals from Pakistan, India, Nepal, Tibet, Kashmir, Burma, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh (Ibrahim, Ohnishi, & Sandhu, 1997), *Middle Eastern* will refer to individuals from Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudia Arabia, Sudan, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Syria, and Jordan (Al-Khawaja, 1998), and *East Asian* will refer to individuals from China, Phillipines, Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Malaysia, Thailand, Taiwan, and Hong Kong (Park, 1999). Finally, for the current study, *ingroup* will refer to the members of the individual's respective heritage cultural group, while the individuals outside of this group, predominantly members of the mainstream culture, will be referred to as the *outgroup.*

Thus, the following research questions are addressed in the present study:

1. Are there differences in psychological adjustment, as indicated by levels of self-esteem and depression, between immigrants and second-generation individuals?

2. Do any differences in the types and intensity of acculturation-related stressors exist with respect to generation?

3. Do differences exist with regards to the level of identification with both the heritage cultural group and host group endorsed by these two generations?

4.   Do the various acculturation-related stressors differentially predict psychological adjustment for the two groups?

5.   What is the relationship between ethnic identity and psychological well-being for both generations?

6.   For both groups, what is the relationship between ethnic identity and the types of stressors experienced?

<u>Overview of the Study</u>

Chapter Two consists of a review of literature pertaining to psychological well-being of immigrants and second-generation individuals, acculturative stress, and ethnic identity. A description of the methodology utilized in the present study, including a description of the sample, the measures used, and procedure of data collection is presented in Chapter Three. Chapter Four reports the statistical analysis procedures used and the results of these analyses. Chapter Five includes a discussion of the findings, and includes the limitations of the study, implications for counsellor practice, and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

In recent years, there has been a tremendous increase in the movement of people around the world, a process that has placed a substantial number of individuals among culturally unfamiliar territory and people. Given this trend, a practical question is raised, which is how to minimize the negative impacts and maximize the positive psychological outcomes of intercultural contact. The ever increasing diversity of North America attests to the need for a more comprehensive understanding of the experiences and adjustment of ethnically diverse individuals, both foreign- and native- born. The objective of this chapter is to discuss the concepts of acculturation, ethnic identity and its formation, and acculturative stress, and the implications of these notions for psychological well-being for immigrants. Considerations for second-generation individuals in these areas will also be discussed throughout. The chapter concludes with a discussion of difficulties encountered in multicultural investigation and an outline of the purpose of the present study.

Acculturation

There is no consensus among scholars on the definition of *culture*; however, most definitions emphasize shared beliefs, values, customs, norms, roles, and self-definitions among a group of people (Triandis, 1996). For the purposes of the current study, culture is defined as "a set of attitudes, behaviours, and symbols shared by a large group of people usually communicated from one generation to the next" (Shiraev & Levy, 2001, p. 5).

The concept of acculturation was initially recognized by anthropologists to describe the changes that occur in cultural groups following contact between two or more cultures (Berry, 1998). While changes can occur in both cultural groups, it is generally the nondominant or minority group that undergoes the most change (Berry, 1998; Berry & Sam, 1997). Often, the minority group begins to accept (or in some cases, are forced to accept) the language, religion, laws, and educational institutions of the host culture. Change also occurs on the individual level, compelling members of both the host and minority cultures to make adaptations in their behaviours, relationships, and daily life (Berry, 1998; Berry & Sam, 1997). Specifically, acculturation can be described as a process that occurs with contact between different cultural groups, by which immigrants modify or relinquish characteristics or behaviours of their heritage culture while embracing the values of the host group (Baptiste, 1993). Research in the area of acculturation demonstrates that individuals vary greatly in the strategies used to manage acculturation change. According to Berry (1998), these strategies, or *acculturation strategies*, have three components, *acculturation attitudes*, or the individual's preferences of how they would like to cope with the various cultural influences, *behavioural shifts*, or how much change in actual behaviours actually occurs, and *acculturative stress*, the stress that may emanate from the acculturation process. These concepts will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

<u>Ethnic Identity</u>

In the investigation of acculturation, much emphasis has been placed on the attitudes of the dominant group towards ethnic minority groups, predominantly on issues such as racism, prejudice, and discrimination. While this has proven to be an area of great relevance (given the prevalence of ethnic tensions and racial conflict), far less attention has been paid to examining the relationship of ethnic individuals with their own cultural group. This notion, of one's relationship with their own cultural group is part of the broad concept of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1998). Although one agreed-upon definition of ethnic identity does not exist (various definitions will be discussed shortly), a general definition is "the subjective sense of ethnic group membership" (Lay & Verkuyten 1999, p. 288). Individuals' attitudes with respect to their own cultural group are fundamental to their psychological well-being, particularly in a society where their ethnic group may be discriminated against, abused (verbally or physically), or poorly represented politically, economically, and in the media (Phinney, 1998). According to Phinney (1998), "the concept of ethnic identity provides a way of understanding the need to assert oneself in the face of threats to one's identity".

The crucial role ethnic identity plays in the psychological well-being of ethnic minority individuals has been examined by many scholars. Important issues examined include the amount, frequency, and quality of contact maintained with one's cultural group (Pizarro & Vera, 2001), attitudes and feelings towards one's cultural group (Berry, 1998; Berry & Sam, 1997; Eyou,

Adair, & Dixon, 2000; Lay & Verkuyten, 1999), responses to racism, stereotypes, and discrimination, and the resulting coping strategies (Niemann, 2001), and the resulting effects on individual psychological health (Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Verkuyten, 1998). However, such work is predominantly of a theoretical nature, and relatively little empirical work has addressed these issues. Furthermore, the empirical work addresses the period of childhood, rarely broadening the scope to include later adolescence and adulthood.

Inconclusive and inconsistent findings in such studies may be attributed to the wide range of definitions of ethnic identity; that is, no consensus exists as to the definition of ethnic identity. According to some researchers, ethnic identity is the ethnic element of social identity – "that part of an individual's self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1981, p. 255). Others emphasize self-identification as the core facet (Lay & Verkuyten, 1999), and some lay emphasis on feelings of belonging and devotion (Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Phinney, 1995), attitudes towards one's ethnic group (Phinney, 1995), and the feeling of mutual ideals and attitudes (Kibria, 2000). Still other researchers highlight more symbolic representations of the culture, such as knowledge of heritage language, familiarity with history of one's cultural group, knowledge and observance of cultural practices (Phinney, 1995; Rosenthal & Hrynevich, 1985). However, in a review of research on ethnic identity, Phinney (1998) concluded that the

research on ethnic identity may be grouped into three general perspectives: social identity theory, acculturation and culture conflict, and identity formation.

Social Identity Theory

Ethnic identity has long been of interest to social psychologists, who conceptualize it within social identity theory. Lewin (1948) was one of the first to recognize the importance of social identity, believing a solid sense of group identification and belonging was key in maintaining well-being. Building on this idea, Tajfel and Turner (1979) developed their social identity theory, which asserts that merely belonging to a group gives individuals a feeling of belonging, thus promoting positive self-concept. However, exceptions exist when applying this theory to members of ethnic minority groups according to Tajfel (1978). Belonging to a group that may be viewed negatively by the dominant group can lead to negative social identity, and ultimately adversely affect one's self-concept. Researchers further explored this idea by determining strategies used by members of ethnic groups to cope with often disparaging attitudes of the dominant group. Tajfel (1978) asserted that some individuals may attempt to present themselves as belonging to the dominant group. Of course for individuals with visibly distinct racial features such an option is not viable. Others may work hard to cultivate pride with their ethnic group, to positively reframe attributes perceived as substandard, and emphasize the uniqueness of one's ethnic group (Phinney, 1998). In addition, social identity theory looks at the difficulties arising from negotiating two cultures, as inevitably, one must contend with conflicting attitudes, values, and

behaviours between the host culture and their own (Phinney, 1998). Thus, the individual must choose whether to choose one cultural identity, or create a bicultural identity (Phinney, 1998).

Acculturation Theory

In multicultural societies, minority ethnic individuals must decide how to negotiate the various cultural influences in their lives. This is known as acculturation, which is defined by Baptiste (1993) as a process that occurs with contact between different cultural groups, by which immigrants modify or relinquish characteristics or behaviours of their heritage culture while embracing the values of the host group. While the terms *ethnic identity* and *acculturation* are often used interchangeably, an important distinction should be made between them (Phinney, 1998). The idea of acculturation encompasses changes in attitudes, values and behaviours engendered by contact between different cultural groups (Berry, 1998). More often, the ethnic *group* rather than the individual is the focus, and the group's attitudes towards the host group (Phinney, 1998). Thus, ethnic identity can be conceptualized as a one facet of acculturation, with a focus on how the individual relates to his or her own cultural group.

According to Berry's (1997) model, there are two decisions facing the majority of acculturating individuals. The first is cultural maintenance, or whether one wishes to maintain their cultural identity, characteristics, and contact. The second is participation, or whether one wishes to establish and preserve contact with the host cultural group. The two issues are

fundamentally a matter of values, whether one values their ethnic distinctiveness, and whether one values relations with the host culture (and other cultural groups). Each issue can be broken down into yes or no responses, resulting in four distinct combinations or acculturation modes.

The first is *assimilation* in which individuals do not hold important their cultural identity and characteristics, but value interaction with the host culture.

Separation is defined as holding one's cultural identity and characteristics important, and avoiding interaction with the host cultural group. The desire here is to exist independently of the host society, by preserving one's traditional cultural values and practices and avoiding participation with the dominant group.

 Integration refers to valuing both, one's cultural maintenance, as well as seeking interaction with the host culture.

Finally, *marginalization* refers to a lack of interest in both maintaining one's cultural identity, and in seeking interaction with other cultural groups. According to Berry, this stage is associated with a significant amount of uncertainty and anxiety at both the group and individual levels. Feelings of lashing out against society accompanied by feelings of estrangement and loss of identity are defining features of this acculturation mode. Psychological and social contact with both the dominant group and the heritage cultural group has diminished.

Previous research has demonstrated that while the preferred acculturation mode depends on the cultural group, integration is usually the

most preferred. For example, in a study of Azorean Portugese-Canadian immigrants, Young (as cited in Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989) found that integration was the most preferred strategy, followed by separation and marginalization, which were equally preferred, and finally assimilation. In a study of Korean immigrants, Kim (as cited in Berry et al., 1989) found that this sample preferred integration followed by an equal preference for marginalization and assimilation, and finally separation.

The type of acculturation strategy that is preferred has implications for psychological adjustment (Berry, 1997). According to Berry (1997), the most effective acculturation mode is integration and the least is marginalization. Both separation and assimilation modes are intermediate. This pattern has been demonstrated in several studies for different cultural groups (e.g., Berry et al., 1987; see Berry & Sam, 1996, for review). Initially developed to understand sojourners' cross-cultural adaptation, Ward's (Ward & Kennedy, 1994; 1999; Ward, Okura, Kennedy, & Kojima, 1998; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999) model may provide some insight into the link between acculturation attitudes, everyday stressors, and psychological adjustment of immigrants. Ward and her colleagues argue that strong identification with one's heritage cultural group provides the social support necessary to soften the negative impact of the acculturation experience on psychological well-being. In light of this, Ward argues that acculturation attitudes that place emphasis on retaining ties with the original culture, (i.e., separation and integration), should be positively related to psychological adjustment.

Some research has addressed whether immigrants differ from second-generation individuals in their acculturation attitudes. In their study of East Indian individuals, Krishnan and Berry (1992) found that the strongest predictor of preference for integration was being born in India as opposed to being born in the United States, suggesting integration to be more highly valued by the immigrant than the second-generation group. However, Kurian (1991) found that generational differences existed in attitudes towards change, more specifically, immigrant parents were less accommodating to change than their children. This finding is reflected in different preferred acculturation modes among generations in a few studies. For example, in a study of Indo-Canadians, Aycan and Kanungo (1998) found that, while both generations preferred integration to all other modes, children were more likely than their immigrant parents to endorse assimilation, whereas parents were more likely than their children to endorse separation and marginalization. They also investigated the relationship of parents' acculturation attitudes to their children's attitudes, and found that they were strongly related, that is, parents' acculturation attitudes tended to be congruent with those of their children. Finally, Abouguendia and Noels (2001) found that while their sample preferred integration overall, no differences existed between the generations in terms of preferred mode. Therefore, it is not clear what mode may be more preferred by which generation.

Though the acculturation attitudes of ethnic minorities have been examined extensively, Clement and Noels (1992) argue that attitudes about

preferences may not necessarily reflect actual feelings or behaviours. Furthermore, given that acculturation attitudes tend to apply more specifically to the group level, they may not be a good illustration of individual preferences and behaviours. For example, in a study of Israelis living in the United States, Elias and Blanton (1987) demonstrated that their sample did not experience conflict between their two identities in terms of attitudes. However, when considering behaviours, American and Jewish identity were negatively correlated, such that the more American behaviours they had, the fewer Jewish behaviours they had. Therefore, Clement and his colleagues argue that ethnic minority members' actual feelings about their identities, rather than their preferred attitudes, should be examined (Clement & Noels, 1992; Noels & Clement, 1996; Noels, Pon, & Clement, 1996). Consequently they developed the Situated Identity theory, which posits that a sense of belonging to a particular ethnic group varies depending on a situation. This idea of situational variance in behaviours is also explained in Okamura's (1981) theory of situational ethnicity. It is described that the action chosen in a given situation best suits that individual's interests (Okamura, 1981). In order to maintain positive relations with both the in- and outgroups, it may be beneficial to act in ways more consistent with one's heritage culture when interacting with members of that cultural group, and more beneficial to act in ways consistent with the host culture when interacting with its members. Indeed, in a study of Chinese university students, Noels et al. (1996) found that most participants felt either Canadian or Chinese, but not both identities at the same time in a

given situation. That is, when it came to actual presentation of self, their sample held a separation or an assimilation mode depending on the context, providing evidence that ethnic identity is not a static construct. Furthermore, Clement and Noels (1992) found that minority students tended to identify more strongly with their heritage culture in private versus public domains lending more evidence to the dynamic nature of ethnic identity.

Again, little research has considered the implication of generational status on ethnic identity. Birman (1994) suggests that ethnic identity may play a more salient role in the lives of second-generation individuals. Birman argues that because immigrants are often occupied with the more behavioural aspects of acculturation, such as learning a new language, identity issues are not that important. Second-generation individuals, however, are generally familiar with the language and understand the mainstream culture, and thus identity issues come to the forefront. In their study of Chinese-Canadian youths, Lay and Verkuyten (1999) found that the life experience of these adolescents, particularly whether they are Canadian-born or foreign born, had implications for ethnic identity.   In interviews with second-generation Korean Americans, Park (1999) discovered that his sample struggled with "the problem of being American without sacrificing their Koreanness" (p. 146).

Ethnic Identity Formation

The social identity and acculturation models generally do not take into account ethnic identity from a developmental perspective (Phinney, 1998). Erikson (1968), developed a theory for understanding ego identity formation.

He stated that a phase of exploration and experimentation typically occurs in adolescence and results in choices or commitments in realms such as occupation and religion. The end result is what Erikson termed *achieved identity.* Marcia (1980) describes four ego identity statuses based on whether the individual has engaged in exploration of identity options and whether a decision has been reached. *Diffuse* describes an individual who not engaged in exploration nor made a commitment. *Foreclosed* status describes the individual who has made a commitment in the absence of exploration (i.e., commitment usually based on values of parents). An individual who has not yet made a decision, but is in engaging in exploration is said to be in *moratorium*, and an *achieved identity* is attained after a period of exploration has been followed by a solid commitment. Though both Erikson and Marcia referred to the importance of culture in a model of identity development, their models have rarely been used in ethnic identity research.

The process of ethnic identity development takes on a course similar to the ego identity models described above; that is, over time, ethnic individuals explore and make decisions surrounding the part they want culture to play in their lives (Phinney, 1998). Several theoretical models have attempted to describe ethnic identity development in ethnic minority adolescents and adults. After reviewing the similarities amongst such models, Phinney (1989) put forth a three-stage framework for understanding the progression from not examining ethnic identity to attaining an achieved ethnic identity. The first stage of this model describes when one has not explored, been exposed to, or

given thought to ethnic identity issues; that is they possess an "unexamined ethnic identity". Often, (but not an essential or defining feature of this stage), there is a preference for the dominant culture over one's heritage culture. The second stage consists of the period of exploration of one's ethnicity (also referred to as *encounter* or *awakening*). Frequently, this stage includes a strong immersion into one's culture and may include such things as attending cultural events more regularly, seeking out friends from one's ethnic group, and reading materials related to one's ethnicity. At this point, a rejection of the people, attitudes, and values of the dominant culture may also occur. The third and final stage, ethnic identity achievement or internalization, is reached as the individual begins to appreciate and understand their ethnicity at a deeper level. It is essential to remember that attaining ethnic identity achievement can take on different meanings for different people. Furthermore, for identity achievement to be attained, one does not necessarily have to demonstrate a strong attachment to the heritage culture. In the case that a firm commitment has been made to not uphold one's cultural customs and values, and one is confident in this choice, ethnic identity achievement has occurred.

Ethnic Identity and Psychological Well-Being

The issue of whether high levels of identification with one's cultural group is positively related to self-esteem has yet to be examined carefully in adolescent and adult populations. Past research that has largely focused on children, consistently demonstrates that high levels of ethnic identity and attachment

are related to greater motivation, stronger academic performance, and behaviours that facilitate academic performance (Gibson & Ogbu, 1991; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). However, Phinney (1998) suggested that it is possible that identification with an ethnic group that may be looked upon negatively by the dominant group, can negatively impact self-esteem. In a recent review of literature, Bat-Chava and Steen (1996; cited in Sam, 2000) conducted a meta-analysis and found a moderate, but consistent relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem that they claimed to be robust across genders, various age groups, and cultural groups.

<u>Acculturative Stress</u>

When the acculturation experience becomes a source of problems for acculturative individuals, *acculturative stress* occurs. Figure 1 presents a model from Berry (1998), which illustrates the relationship between the acculturation experience and acculturative stress. On the far left is *acculturation experience* which consists of the change that is occurring which can range from very little, to a great deal of change. In the middle is *stressors*, which may result from the acculturation experience. For some individuals, the changes will result in stressors, while for others these stressors may be viewed as opportunities rather than negative stressors. On the right is *acculturative stress*, which may result from the experience of acculturation and its stressors.

As the figure illustrates, the relationships between these three concepts are all moderated through a number of variables, including the nature of the

Figure 1. Model of Acculturation Stress

Figure 1. Model of Acculturation Stress

ACCULTURATION EXPERIENCE	STRESSORS	ACCULTURATIVE STRESS
Much ↔ Little	Many ↔ Few	High ↔ Low

FACTORS MODERATING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND STRESS

· Nature of the larger society
· Type of acculturating group
· Modes of acculturation
· Demographic and social characteristics of individual
· Psychological characteristics of individual

host culture, characteristics of the cultural group, the acculturation mode chosen (i.e., integration, assimilation, separation, or marginalization), and various other demographic, social, and psychological variables (Berry, 1998). That is, such variables impact the strength and direction of the relationships, and cause variation at both the group and individual level.

While some researchers take the position that the process of culture change unavoidably produces stress (Jayasurija et al., 1992 as cited in Ward et al., 2001), others, such as Berry (1992), contend that eustress, rather than distress, may be the result of acculturation. Berry explains that the amount of stressed produced by acculturation is dependent upon a number of variables.

According to Berry (1998), the ways in which individuals choose to deal with the multiple cultural influences in their lives is the first factor which influences acculturative stress. The least amount of stress is associated with a desire to both maintain one's cultural characteristics and a desire to maintain positive relations with the dominant group (i.e., integration). High levels of stress are associated with the desire to reject the dominant culture while maintaining one's heritage culture (i.e., separation), and with the desire to not maintain aspects of either culture (i.e., marginalization). Finally, not valuing the maintenance of one's culture and valuing aspects of the host culture (i.e., assimilation) is intermediately associated with acculturative stress.

Another important and moderating variable is the nature of the host society. Berry (1998) contends that a culturally plural society, versus a culturally monistic society, is likely to have existing social and cultural

resources, which can provide the recently immigrated individual with support. Berry adds that such a society is presumably more accepting and tolerant of cultural diversity.

Thus, culturally plural societies are likely to buffer the acculturation experience as compared to monistic societies which may promote assimilation (Berry, 1998). Societies that promote assimilation will likely serve to further induce the stress associated with acculturation. Receiving messages that one's culture, language, and identity are undesirable, will undoubtedly have consequences for self-concept. The message that being accepted as a member of the new culture requires the shedding core aspects of the self surely leads to increased psychological distress. Therefore, it is conceivable that acculturative stress is intensified in societies that tend to endorse assimilation (Berry, 1998).

The final variable is the standing of one's particular ethnic group in the host society. Generally, some ethnic, racial, or religious groups are considered more "acceptable" than others (Berry, 1998; Phinney, 1998). Thus "less acceptable" groups likely experience greater amounts of discrimination, prejudice, and exclusion, which of course, can intensify acculturative stress.

In addition to the factors discussed above, are the numerous individual variables which play a part in the individuals experience of acculturation. Such variables include knowledge of the host language (Padilla et al., 1998), voluntary versus involuntary migration (Berry, 1998), and prior contact with other cultural groups (Berry, 1998).

Berry and Kim (1988) argue that the stress embedded in the acculturation experience, which is referred to as *acculturative stress* has negative consequences for the psychological adjustment of immigrants. Depression, anxiety, and psychosomatic symptoms are the most common consequences of the acculturation process (Berry, 1997; Berry & Sam, 1997; Williams & Berry, 1991), and are generally deemed to be the principal indicators of psychological well-being (Sam, 2000). Consequences of this acculturative stress may also include feelings of alienation and identity confusion (Williams & Berry, 1991). Some studies that have explored the relationship between generational status and reported acculturative stress demonstrate that each successive generation experiences lower levels of acculturative stress (e.g., Padilla, Alvarez, & Lindholm, 1985; Padilla, Wagatsuma, & Lindholm, 1986). Other studies have found otherwise. For instance, in their study of immigrants and second-generation Latino adolescents, Hovey and King (1996) found that while low levels of family functioning was significantly linked to higher levels of acculturative stress, generational status was not related to differential levels of acculturative stress.

The phenomenon of acculturative stress can be observed through the specific stressors emanating from the process of acculturation.

Acculturative Stressors

On a daily basis, individuals encounter stressors. Such stressors have been demonstrated to be significantly linked to psychological distress (Almeida & Kessler, 1998; Kanner, Coyne, Schaefer, & Lazarus, 1981). In fact, given

the cumulative nature of chronic stressors, they may be more predictive of psychological health than major life events (e.g., Almeida & Kessler, 1998; Burks & Martin, 1983; DeLongis, Coyne, Dakof, Folkman, & Lazarus, 1982; Eckenrode, 1984; Flett, Blankstein, Hicken, & Watson, 1995; Ruffin, 1993). In addition to the general daily stressors encountered by most individuals, certain populations may encounter stressors related exclusively to their experience or position in life (Lay & Nguyen, 1998: Safdar & Lay, 1999). In an examination of adaptation of recent Latin American immigrants (i.e., having resided in the United States for less than ten years), Padilla et al. (1998) found that not knowing English, discrimination, missing family members and friends back home, adapting to different foods and transportation, and lifestyle were things that made life difficult in the United States. Lay and Nguyen (1998) (see also Saldana, 1994; Utsey & Ponterro, 1996) contend that immigrants encounter stressors unique to the acculturation experience. Such acculturation-specific stressors include difficulties arising from interactions with the host group, conflict with individuals from the same cultural group, and difficulties with family members related to the acculturation process. According to Lay and Nguyen (1998), these stressors can be conceptualized into three broad categories: outgroup, ingroup, and family stressors.

Outgroup stressors are troubles arising from interactions with the host society, and include incidents of prejudice and discrimination, as well as difficulties communicating in the language of the host society. The adverse effects of prejudice and racial discrimination on the psychological well-being of

members of ethnic minority groups is well established. For example, in a study of 5000 immigrant children in Grades 8 and 9, Rumbaut (1994) found that perceived discrimination was significantly related to higher levels of depression, and expected discrimination was related to greater levels of depression, and lower levels of self-esteem. In a study of Turkish and Moroccan adolescents in the Netherlands, Verkuyten (1998) found that perceived personal discrimination was related to decreased levels of self-esteem and perceived social competence. Fischer and Shaw (1999) found a relationship between the experience of racist events and poorer psychological well-being in a sample of African American young adults. Such conflicts between ethnic minority individuals and the host society are consistent with what Saldana (1994) conceptualized as outgroup stressors. Moreover, outgroup stress may also arise from lack of knowledge of the host group language (Lay & Nguyen, 1998), and therefore difficulties communicating with members of the host group. In fact research has found that English proficiency is positively related to higher self-esteem among immigrants (e.g., Padilla et al., 1998).

According to Lay and Nguyen (1998), ingroup stressors are stressors that result from interactions with members within one's own ethnic group, and may include lack of fluency in the heritage language and feeling alienated from other members of the cultural group. These also include stressors identified by Saldana (1994), such as perceived lack of support from members of the ethnic ingroup, difficulties in finding romantic partners from the ingroup, and

being perceived by the ingroup as abandoning the heritage and culture and behaving too similarly to the outgroup. These ingroup stressors were found by Lay and Nguyen (1998) to be significantly related to depression. In a qualitative study, Park (1999) further highlighted the importance of positive ingroup contact in well-being. He found that deepening and strengthening the relationship with the cultural community increased one's level of comfort with their ethnic identity.

The third group, which is a subset of ingroup stressors, is family stressors (Lay & Nguyen, 1998). Conflicts may arise when younger immigrants struggle between their parents' traditional cultural values and the conflicting values of the host culture (Lay & Nguyen, 1998). In a study of recent immigrants Padilla et al., (1998) found that family stressors in their sample included parents' discomfort with their children's lack of knowledge of their heritage language, and interestingly, some of the participants reported discomfort from feeling dependent on their children.

Aycan and Kanungo (1998) found that the conflicts between adolescent children and their immigrant parents related to self-identity were associated with behavioural and disciplinary problems. Similarly, Pawliuk et al. (1996) found that, while children's acculturation style was not related to their psychological well-being, the parents' acculturation style was an important predictor of their children's well-being. They suggested that because children tend to be more acculturated into the mainstream culture than their parents, the more accepting parents are of the majority culture, the higher the level of

well-being of their children. Furthermore, Rumbaut (1994) found parent-child conflict to be the strongest predictor of low self-esteem and high depression among second-generation immigrants. Finally, in a study that examined the relationship between Filipino American individuals and their families during the acculturation process, Heras and Revilla (1994) found that high levels of family satisfaction and family cohesion were related to greater levels of adjustment.

In addition to these acculturation-specific stressors, immigrants are also subject to the same types of daily stressors encountered by most individuals, such as financial concerns, future decisions, and school-related problems (Lay & Nguyen, 1998). Thus, the combined effect of acculturation-specific and non-specific stressors may have considerable consequences for the psychological adjustment of immigrants. In a comparison of the contribution of the different types of stressors to psychological distress in their sample of Vietnamese immigrants, Lay and Nguyen (1998) found support for the relationship between acculturation-specific stressors and psychological distress. In a subsequent study of Iranian immigrants, Safdar and Lay (1999) found that, when controlling for general stressors, outgroup stressors predicted depression, further emphasizing the impact of this acculturation-specific stressor. Hence, it appears that some of the distress experienced by immigrants is properly attributed to stressors unique to the acculturation process, above and beyond general daily stressors. This is in line with a large body of research that has demonstrated the adverse impact of immigration on

immigrants' mental health (Berry & Kim, 1988; Hovey & King, 1996; Kuo &

Tsai, 1986, Pernice & Brook, 1996).

<u>Stressors with Second-Generation Individuals</u>

Although a substantial amount of research has focused on the

experiences and acculturation process of immigrants, there is a smaller,

though increasing, body of research concerning the experiences of second-

generation individuals (see Portes, 1996; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Waldinger &

Perlmann, 1988, for overviews). Second-generation describes individuals who

were born in the host country and whose parents were immigrants. Although

these individuals have not been directly socialized in their heritage cultures,

they usually acquire various aspects of their heritage cultures via their parents

and interactions with their ethnic community (Wakil et al., 1981). In fact

Rosenthal and Feldman (1992) found Australian and American born Chinese

individuals were equally exposed to key aspects of the Chinese culture as

their foreign born counterparts. Park (1999) also includes individuals who

immigrated to the host country before the age of five years as second-

generation, due to their comparable number of years of education and

socialization in the host country with those actually born in the host country. It

seems that given their unique situations, these two groups would encounter

different types of stressors. Immigrants are often burdened by their arrival in a

new country, facing obstacles such as learning a new language, encountering

perhaps for the first time hostility and prejudice, and facing the rejection of

their educational qualifications (Hirschman, 1996). Second-generation

individuals on the other hand are both socialized and educated in the host society. It then seems likely that they would experience fewer daily stressors, and as a result be less vulnerable to psychological distress than immigrants. The limited research that has compared the two groups, however, suggests otherwise. For example, Rumbaut (1994) found that lower self-esteem was related to being the child of an immigrant. Abouguendia and Noels (2001) found in their sample of South Asians, there was a tendency for second-generation individuals to have lower self-esteem than immigrants. Similarly, Heras and Revilla (1994) found that second generation individuals reported significantly lower self-esteem and self-concept than did immigrants. Furthermore, recent American studies indicate that U.S. born ethnic minorities have higher incidence rates of psychiatric illnesses as compared to their immigrant counterparts (Escobar, 1998; Vega et al., 1998). Vega and his colleagues (1998) compared immigrant and second-generation Mexican individuals and determined that the incidence of any psychiatric disorder was twice as high for second-generation individuals than for immigrants. In addition, they found that immigrants who stayed for less than 13 years had almost half the prevalence rate of immigrants who stayed for longer than 13 years. Overall, their comparisons between short-term immigrants, long-term immigrants, and second-generation individuals strongly suggested that incidences of psychiatric illnesses increased as time in the United States increased. Of specific interest is the finding that of all three groups, second-

generation individuals had the highest rates of depression, all types of affective disorders, and any psychiatric disorder.

In an attempt to understand why there might be differences in psychological adjustment between immigrants and second-generations, Abouguendia and Noels (2001) examined the stressors experienced by the two groups and the impact of these stressors on their psychological well-being. It was found that the groups did in fact encounter different types of stressors; second-generation were more likely to experience ingroup stressors, while immigrants were slightly more likely to experience outgroup stressors. This study however, utilized a small sample size and focused exclusively on South Asians.

Conceptualization of Mental Health

Whereas in the West, distress is predominantly expressed in an affective manner and somatic symptoms are treated secondarily, immigrants are more likely to conceptualize mental health problems in a physiological manner (Rogler, 1989). In many non-western cultures, due to belief systems around health, illness, and the unfavorable nature of psychological symptoms, distress is translated, experienced, and conveyed in primarily somatic terms (Rogler, 1989; Sinclair, 1999). Still though, an affective component may play a role in the experience of distress in non-western cultures (Rogler, 1989; Sinclair, 1999). This pattern however, does not necessarily apply to individuals dwelling in pluralistic cultures, that is, socialization appears to influence the interpretation and expression of distress. For example, in a

study of Caucasians and Asian immigrants, Lai and Wolfgang (1993) found that although the Asian group reported higher levels of anxiety, no differences existed between the two groups with respect to somatic symptoms of anxiety. Given that in the Asian culture, somatic complaints are a primary means by which anxiety is expressed, this finding attests to the idea that the expression of psychological distress can be impacted by intercultural contact.

<u>Difficulties with Multicultural Investigation</u>

Undoubtedly, the amount of multicultural research has increased dramatically. Where at one time, cultural diversity was overlooked, it is now considered an essential component of the field of psychology. However, while it is agreed that cultural issues must be addressed in our research, there is less certainty about how to best accomplish this. Research with ethnic minority individuals introduces several methodological and conceptual difficulties in all phases of formulating and conducting studies. The following section will address some of the most common difficulties encountered by researchers when studying ethnic groups. Addressing these challenges, and employing proper methodologies can improve the validity and value of research findings in multicultural research.

Within the field of psychology (and other disciplines), there is no consensus as to what constitutes ethnicity, race, and culture, and as a result these terms are often used interchangeably (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993; Ogazaki & Sue, 1998). However, as Ogazaki & Sue (1998) point out, lack of clarity with terminology likely reflects lack of clarity conceptually. They

contend that grouping individuals of similar and racial ethnic backgrounds together and using ethnicity as a predictor variable implies that due to their ethnicity, the individuals share similar psychological characteristics and that these characteristics are linked to personality and psychopathology. Van de Vijver and Leung (1997) further argue that ethnicity may in fact be serving as a substitute for other variables such as minority status, cultural values, and religion. Therefore, they assert that when doing multicultural research, it is necessary to make clear the assumptions that were made regarding the psychological characteristics of the sample used. While it is argued that groupings based on ethnicity and race results in stereotyping, Ogazaki and Sue (1998) maintain that while one must not underestimate differences existing within the ethnic group, broad groupings based on ethnicity is justified as "certain sets of characteristics covary with racial, ethnic, or cultural groups. After all, what is culture if not a set of values and attitudes, a world view, and so forth that are shared by a large number of people who also share, to a greater or lesser extent, other demographic and physical characteristics?" (p. 28).

Sampling proves to be one of the greatest challenges confronted by researchers (Ogazaki & Sue, 1998; van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). Accessing sufficiently sized samples of ethnic participants is extremely difficult, which is often in part due to the presence of a small population overall (Ogazaki & Sue, 1998; van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). Such limited samples often lead researchers to combine data from a broad number of ethnic groups with some

common origin; for example combining Pakistani, East Indian, and Bangladeshi individuals into one group. Such crude groupings inevitably lead to increased heterogeneity, as the groups may significantly differ on variables such as cultural practices, language, and religion (Ogazaki & Sue, 1998; van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). Thus, the researcher is left to decide which variables may be disregarded when forming broad cultural categories (Ogazaki & Sue, 1998).

In attempts to obtain adequate sample sizes, college and university populations are often be sampled, which clearly brings into question the representativeness of the sample. The sample may differ significantly on variables such as socioeconomic status, and knowledge of the English language, and thus may not represent a considerable segment of the population (Ogazaki & Sue, 1998; van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). As Ogazaki and Sue (1998) point out, ethnic minority college samples tend to underestimate both the demographic and the psychosocial diversity of the larger ethnic minority populations. Consequently, although considerable variability may exist in college or university samples, such samples may still be an underestimate of true population heterogeneity (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). In an attempt to increase representativeness, sampling from the community may be desirable; however, such sampling usually accesses organizations such as religious institutions, political organizations, and social clubs. Clearly the segment of the population belonging to these types of organizations is not necessarily representative of the larger population

(Ogazaki & Sue, 1998). Therefore, obtaining both representative and adequately sized samples in multicultural research is a significant challenge in multicultural investigation.

Another challenge in conducting multicultural research is the search for reliable and valid measures that minimize cultural bias. Use of measures in cross-cultural research presents many difficulties, principally with regards to establishing equivalence of measures (Brislin, 1993; van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). Brislin (1993) points out that both translation and conceptual equivalence must be considered. Although many popular scales such as the MMPI and Zung Self-Rating Depression scale have been translated into many languages, researchers must go further than simply translating scales and adapting them for use with individuals of varying cultural backgrounds. Instead culturally appropriate measures need to be developed and validated with the respective cultural groups (Brislin, 1993; van de Vijver & Lueng, 1997).

When it comes to interpreting findings in multicultural research, Rogler (1989) argues that results are rarely interpreted positively, or in favor of ethnic minorities. He points out that it is crucial to be aware of Western cultural bias when interpreting data so as not to pathologize cultural differences. Thus, the culturally sensitive interpretation of the results is essential in multicultural research.

Purpose of the Study

Based on the preceding discussion, and to expand our understanding of the acculturation process, the following five research questions will be addressed in the current study:

1. Are there differences in psychological adjustment between immigrants and second-generation individuals?

2. Do any differences in the types and intensity of acculturation-related stressors exist with respect to generation?

3. Do differences exist with regards to the level of identification with both the heritage cultural group and host group endorsed by these two groups?

4. Do the various acculturation-related stressors differentially predict psychological adjustment for the two groups?

5. What is the relationship between ethnic identity and psychological well-being for both generations?

6. What is the relationship between ethnic identity and the types of stressors experienced for each group?

Chapter III

Method

The objective of the present study was to compare immigrant and second-generation individuals with respect to psychological adjustment, stressors encountered, and ethnic identity, as well as explore the relationships between these variables for both groups. This chapter will explain the operationalization of the research, including sample characteristics, measures used, procedure, and a brief overview of data preparation and analysis

Participants

A total of 187 individuals took part in this study, 105 (56.1%) of whom were immigrants (i.e., born outside of Canada) and 82 (43.9%) of whom were second-generation (i.e., individuals born in Canada who are the children of immigrants; also includes individuals who immigrated to Canada before the age of 5; Park, 1999). As is almost always the case in cross-cultural research studies, limited access to samples requires combining data from a range of cultural groups from within a broad region (Ogazaki & Sue, 1998; van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). Such crude groupings, though necessary in the current study, results in one of the limitations of this study, that is, overestimating the homogeneity of these groups. However, as Ogazaki and Sue (1998) point out, while within group difference must not be underestimated, such groups are justified in that by definition, culture is a set of values and attitudes shared by a group of people with similar demographic characteristics. The three broad cultural groups were represented in this sample are, South Asian (e.g., East

Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, and Sri Lankan), East Asian (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, and Thai), and Middle Eastern (e.g., Egyptian, Lebanese, Saudi, and Libyan). These cultural groups represented 27.8% (n=52), 32.6% (n=61), and 39.6% (n= 74) of the sample respectively. Seventy four point three percent (n=139) of the sample identified themselves as students, while 25.7% (n=48) identified themselves as other. The immigrant group on average has been in Canada for 4.7 years. Detailed summaries of the participants' characteristics broken down by generation and cultural group are presented in the results section.

Measures

A great challenge in cross-cultural research is obtaining reliable and valid measures that are not culturally biased. The measures chosen for the purposes of this current study are widely used and accepted in cross-cultural research, and although admittedly are not free of cultural bias, they have generally shown to be reliable and valid with a variety of cultural groups. The following measures were used, and comprised the questionnaire distributed to the participants. Cronbach's alpha indices of internal consistency were calculated for the current sample and are reported for each scale.

Demographic Information

A section of the questionnaire (see Appendix A) asked participants to indicate their age, sex, cultural heritage, place of birth, parents' cultural heritage, immigration status, years in Canada (if not born in Canada), heritage

language, and occupation. In addition, participants were asked to indicate on a 7-point scale their English and heritage language competency.

Depression

To measure depression, the Zung Self-Rating Depression Scale (SDS) was used (Zung, 1965; see Appendix B). This scale, like the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI) is one of the most commonly used depression scales in clinical and research settings (Naughton & Wiklund, 1993; Zung, 1973). It is widely utilized in cross-cultural research and is consistently shown to be reliable with multicultural populations (e.g., Ward & Kennedy, 1994). In addition to measuring the psychological and mood symptoms of depression, the scale also measures biological symptoms (Zung, 1965). Because this scale taps into both the physiological and psychological manifestations of depression, it is considered an appropriate measure for the current sample as it takes into account cultural variability in expressing depression. Examples of items are, *I eat as much as I used to*, *My heart beats faster than usual*, and *I feel that I am useful and needed*. Respondents were asked to indicate how often they experienced a given feeling over the past few days from 1 (none or a little of the time) to 4 (most or all of the time). The SDS has been used cross-culturally in a variety of countries (e.g., Japan, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Iran, Germany, and Venezuela), and is translated into many different languages (e,g., Finnish, Hmong, Japanese, and Persian) (Naughton & Wiklund, 1993). In addition to its cross-cultural utility, this scale was used by Abouguendia and Noels (2001), and thus was selected for the current research. Positively

worded items were reversed so that a high score indicated greater levels of depression. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .89.

Self-Esteem

To measure self-esteem, the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale was used (Rosenberg, 1965; see Appendix C). This scale is a global measure of positive or negative self-regard. Respondents are asked to indicate on a four point scale (1 = strongly agree to 4 = strongly disagree) the extent to which they agree with statements such as, *I am able to do things as well as most other people* and *I take a positive attitude towards myself.* Positively worded items were reversed and scored such that a high score indicated high self-esteem. Divergent validity has been demonstrated as this test correlated negatively with aspects of negative self-regard such as anxiety (-.64), depression (-.54), and anomie (-.43), and positively with general self-regard (.78) (Fleming & Courtney, 1984). A Cronbach alpha of .92 was obtained on this scale. Although the initial norm group used for this scale was not as ethnically diverse as the current sample, this scale has been widely used and validated with various ethnic groups such as Persians (Shapurian, Hojat, & Nayerahmadi, 1987), South Africans (Bornman, 1999), and Hispanics (Banos & Guillen, 2000), and has been translated into a number of languages such as Spanish (Banos & Guillen, 2000), Estonian (Pullman & Allik, 2000), and Persian (Shapurian et al., 1987). Though Abouguendia and Noels (2001) used only the 5 positively worded items from this scale in their study, the current study utilized all 10 items from the scale.

Hassles Inventory

This scale, developed by Lay and Nguyen (1998; see Appendix D),

measures the frequency of stressors including General, Family, Ingroup, and

Outgroup. General stressors refer to stressors that all individuals are subject

to, and are not related in any way to the acculturation process. Examples of

General stressor items include *Lack of money* and *Making decisions about my*

future career. Family stressors are those stressors that emanate from

interactions with family members and may or may not be specifically related to

the acculturation process. Family stressor items include, *Overburdened with*

traditional family duties and obligations and *Different values and beliefs from*

those of my parents. Ingroup stressors are difficulties that arise from within-

ethnic group interactions, including issues such as lack of knowledge of the

heritage language and feeling rejected or alienated by members of one's

ethnic group. Examples of ingroup stressor items include, *People from my*

ethnic group not understanding my use of our native language, *Feeling*

isolated from my ethnic community, *Not feeling well-liked by people from other*

ethnic groups, and *Embarrassed when I do not understand my ethnic group's*

jokes and idioms. Outgroup stressors stem from interactions, or lack thereof

with majority group members, and may be real or perceived. Issues include

difficulties with English and perceptions of prejudice and discrimination.

Examples of such items include *Feeling that I am being taken advantage of by*

some of my peers/co-workers who are members of other ethnic groups, *My*

fluency in English being underestimated by people from other ethnic groups,

and *Deciding whether certain actions are made because of my ethnic origin or because the person is just rude.* After conducting interviews with South Asian individuals, Abouguendia and Noels (2001) determined two additional acculturation-specific stressors: *Having trouble finding a romantic partner from my ethnic group,* and *Being perceived as 'too white' by people of my ethnic group.* These two items were included in this scale as Ingroup stressors. Overall, the scale contains 18 General, 13 Family, 13 Outgroup, and 11 Ingroup hassle items. Respondents were asked to indicate how much each hassle has been part of their life over the past few months from 1 (not at all part of my life) to 4 (very much part of my life), such that a high mean score indicated greater experience with that particular type of stressor. The Cronbach alphas obtained for this scale were .91, .86, .84, .80 for Outgroup, Ingroup, Family, and General stressors respectively. This was the scale used by Abouguendia and Noels (2001) to examine the stressors encountered in their sample. Because the current study is an extension of this study, the same scale was chosen to measure stressors. In addition, this scale was initially normed on a group of 60 Vietnamese university students who immigrated to Canada (Lay and Nguyen, 1998), and subsequently validated by Safdar and Lay (1999) on 93 university students representing 22 ethnic groups, 50 of whom were immigrants and 43 of whom were second-generations individuals. Thus the groups on which this scale was normed can be said to roughly resemble the current sample, and thus was suitable for inclusion.

Ethnic Identity

In their attempt to determine differential patterns in relating to the host and ethnic groups of immigrants and second-generation individuals, Abouguendia and Noels (2001) used a measure of acculturation attitudes. As discussed earlier in the literature review, it is clear that attitudes may not be the best indicator of ethnic identity. Thus to measure ethnic identity in the current study, portions of the Situated Ethnic Identity Scale were used (Clement & Noels, 1992; see Appendix E). This measure was selected for two reasons: first, it takes into account situational variability in identity, and second, it allows for simultaneous identification (or lack of identification) with both the host culture and heritage cultural groups. These are two properties rarely included in other identity scales. This scale includes 22 situations, however, items pertaining solely to students were deleted, and thus 16 items from the scale were included in the questionnaire. Of the 16 items, 11 represented situations in the public domain, and 5 represented situations in the private domain. For each situation, participants rated the extent to which they identify with their heritage cultural group and host cultural group on a scale of 1 (not at all) to 5 (completely). It was indicated to the participants that it is possible to identify to both groups, or neither of the groups simultaneously. Examples of the items from the private domain include, *When I watch the news on television...* and *When I am at home....* Example items from the private domain include *In my social contacts...* and *When I participate in cultural activities....* The Cronbach alpha's for identification with the host group

was .90 in the public domain and .94 in the private domain. For identification with the heritage group, Cronbach alpha's were .84 and .92 in the public and private domains respectively.

In addition to the scales discussed above, an Information Form was included at the beginning of the questionnaire (see Appendix F), which provided a brief description of the purpose of the study, and stressed the anonymous and voluntary nature of participation. A Feedback Sheet also followed the questionnaire (see Appendix G), which included some background information pertinent to the study, the information hoped to gain from the study, as well as a thank-you to participants.

<u>Procedure</u>

In September 2000, permission was granted by the Faculties of Education and Extension Research Ethics Board to conduct this research. Permission was obtained from leaders of various cultural, religious, and student organizations for the researcher to attend general meetings and ask members to complete the questionnaires. Approximately two-thirds of these organizations were university based student groups. The remaining one-third comprised of private groups outside of the campus setting. Of all the organizations, roughly one-quarter were religious in nature (i.e., respective places of worship or campus religious groups) and three-quarters were primarily cultural in nature. Additional participants were recruited through personal contacts with the researcher (n=27). These individuals also belonged to various cultural or religious organizations, however these were

organizations not formally contacted by the researcher. The recruitment of participants speaks to the limited representativeness of the sample, as individuals belonging to these groups do not necessarily represent the greater population.

Arrangements were made for individuals fluent in both the English language and the heritage language of the group completing the questionnaires, to be present while the questionnaires were administered. At a general meeting of each organization, the researcher was introduced, and gave a brief description of the study. Participants were told by the researcher that the questionnaire examined individuals' cultural background, day-to-day experiences, and overall well-being. The voluntary and confidential nature of participation was emphasized to participants both in the English language by the researcher as well as in their respective heritage languages by the translators. Time was then given to answer any of the questions the participants may have had. Respondents were then given the questionnaires and either completed them immediately, or mailed them in later, as was convenient for them. For those participants who completed the questionnaires immediately after the meetings, both the researcher and the interpreter were present. The role of the interpreter was strictly limited to translating specific words from the questionnaire and he or she refrained from giving opinions as to what various items from the questionnaire may mean. Two e-mails were sent to the various organizations' mailing lists to remind members who may have taken the questionnaires home with them, to complete them and mail

them in. A total of 280 questionnaires were distributed and 187 were returned,

making the response rate 66.8%. Despite a relatively high questionnaire

return rate, this highly selective, convenience sampling strategy resulted in a

sample consisting mostly of individuals involved in cultural organizations.

Thus, the generalizability of the current findings is largely limited to individuals

involved in such groups.

<div align="center">Data Preparation and Analysis</div>

The data gathered was entered and analyzed by the Statistical Program

for the Social Sciences (SPSS). For both the self-esteem and depression

scales, positively worded items were reverse coded such that higher scores

indicated greater levels of self-esteem and depression respectively. Total

scores for all of the major variables were computed by adding the individual

items, and then dividing by the number of items added together.   Descriptive

statistics (i.e., M and SD) and frequencies were used to examine the

demographic variables. Univariate analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were

utilized to examine differences between the groups on the major variables of

interest. The post-hoc Levene statistic was computed to ascertain whether the

homogeneity of variance assumption was met for each ANOVA that was

calculated. This statistic indicated that for two of the ANOVAs (i.e., with

Outgroup Stressors and Ingroup Stressors), variances were significantly

different between the groups. Thus, for these two analyses, participants' data

were randomly deleted using an option from the SPSS program to create

equal sample sizes for all groups prior to conducting the ANOVAs. According

to Kirk (1982), if sample sizes are equal in all groups compared, then violation of the basic assumptions of the ANOVA is justified. Stepwise multiple regression analyses were conducted to determine the best predictors of the psychological well-being indicators. Internal consistency for each of the scales was determined by calculating Cronbach's alphas. The following chapter will describe the results of the data analyses with specific attention to the six research questions.

CHAPTER IV

Results

This chapter delineates the statistical procedures conducted to address each of the six research questions, and presents the results of these analyses. First, detailed summaries of the participants' demographic characteristics will be described. Second, the results of a series of ANOVAs performed to compare the groups on all major variables (depression, self-esteem, stressors, and ethnic identity) are presented. Third, the results of stepwise multiple regression analyses used to determine the best predictors of the psychological well-being indicators will be described. Finally, the results of a series of correlational analyses will be presented to address the remaining research questions.

Sample Characteristics

Tables 1 – 9 present detailed summaries of the participants' characteristics broken down by generation and cultural group. Note that with the Knowledge of English Language and Heritage Language indices, scores were very concentrated, and did not approximate a normal distribution. The means and standard deviations of these indices reflect the lack of dispersion and lack of normality in the distribution of scores in that one standard deviation above the mean exceeds the theoretical range. This simply reflects the concentration of scores around a high score.

Table 1

Frequencies of Demographic Variables for Immigrant and Second-Generation

Groups

Demographic Variable	Immigrants		Second-Generation	
	n	%	n	%
Sex				
Male	59	56.2	40	48.8
Female	46	43.8	42	51.2
Culture Group				
South Asian	33	31.4	28	34.1
East Asian	31	29.5	21	25.6
Middle Eastern	41	39.0	33	40.2
Occupation				
Student	77	73.3	62	75.6
Other	28	26.7	20	24.4
Immigration Status				
Canadian Citizen	59	56.2	81	98.8
Landed Immigrant	46	43.8	1	1.2

Table 2

Frequencies of Demographic Variables for South Asian Group

Demographic Variable	n	%
Sex		
Male	32	52.5
Female	29	47.5
Generation		
Immigrant	33	54.1
Second-Generation	28	45.9
Occupation		
Student	42	68.9
Other	19	31.1
Immigration Status		
Canadian Citizen	46	75.4
Landed Immigrant	15	24.6

Table 3

Frequencies of Demographic Variables for East Asian Group

Demographic Variable	n	%
Sex		
Male	29	55.8
Female	23	44.2
Generation		
Immigrant	31	59.6
Second-Generation	21	40.4
Occupation		
Student	40	76.9
Other	12	23.1
Immigration Status		
Canadian Citizen	43	82.7
Landed Immigrant	9	17.3

Table 4

Frequencies of Demographic Variables for Middle Eastern Group

Demographic Variable	n	%
Sex		
Male	38	51.4
Female	36	48.6
Generation		
Immigrant	41	55.4
Second-Generation	33	44.6
Occupation		
Student	57	77.0
Other	17	23.0
Immigration Status		
Canadian Citizen	51	68.9
Landed Immigrant	23	31.1

Table 5

Means and Standard Deviations for Background Variables for Immigrant Group

Demographic Variable	M	SD
Age	22.88	2.74
Years In Canada	4.70	2.72
Knowledge of Heritage Language[a]	6.52	.94
Knowledge of English Language[a]	5.65	.72

[a]Theoretical range is from 1 (none) to 7 (native-like).

Table 6

Means and Standard Deviations for Background Variables for Second-Generation Group

Demographic Variable	M	SD
Age	21.26	2.68
Years In Canada		
Knowledge of Heritage Language[a]	3.88	1.64
Knowledge of English Language[a]	6.74	.47

[a]Theoretical range is from 1 (none) to 7 (native-like).

Table 7

Means and Standard Deviations for Background Variables for South Asian Group

Background Variable	M	SD
Age	21.67	2.98
Years In Canada	7.41	5.55
Knowledge of Heritage Language[a]	5.15	1.69
Knowledge of English Language[a]	6.16	.92

[a]Theoretical range is from 1 (none) to 7 (native-like).

Table 8

Means and Standard Deviations for Background Variables for East Asian

Group

Background Variable	M	SD
Age	22.65	2.72
Years In Canada	4.65	1.92
Knowledge of Heritage Language[a]	5.48	1.88
Knowledge of English Language[a]	6.15	.80

[a]Theoretical range is from 1 (none) to 7 (native-like).

Table 9

Means and Standard Deviations for Background Variables for Middle Eastern

Group

Background Variable	M	SD
Age	22.20	2.73
Years In Canada	3.90	2.13
Knowledge of Heritage Language[a]	5.46	1.95
Knowledge of English Language[a]	6.08	.77

[a]Theoretical range is from 1 (none) to 7 (native-like).

Research Question 1: Are There Differences in Psychological Well-Being

Between Immigrants and Second-Generation Individuals?

Depression. An Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was conducted to

compare immigrant and second-generation individuals on Depression (see

Table 10). Note that due to the high number of analyses performed, an alpha level of .01 was selected for all statistical procedures in the current study.

A main effect for generation was significant $F(1, 181) = 13.63$, $p < .01$, indicating that second-generation individuals ($M = 2.08$, $SD = .46$) reported significantly higher levels of depression than their immigrant counterparts ($M = 1.82$, $SD = .48$). This was consistent across the 3 cultural groups, as there was no main effect for cultural group $F(2, 181) = .446$, $p = .641$.

Table 10

ANOVA Summary For Depression

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Generation	3.06	1	3.06	13.63*
Cultural Group	.20	2	.10	.45
Generation x Cultural Group	.88	2	.44	1.96
Total	43.50	181		

*$p < .01$.

Self-esteem. An ANOVA was conducted to explore differences between immigrant and second-generation individuals on self-esteem (see Table 11). Results indicate that there was a significant tendency for immigrant individuals ($M = 3.27$, $SD = .45$) to report higher levels of self-esteem than second-generation individuals ($M = 2.95$, $SD = .61$; $F(1, 186) = 18.86$, $p < .01$). Furthermore, no differences were found between cultural groups $F(2, 186) = 1.931$, $p = .148$.

Table 11

ANOVA Summary For Self-Esteem

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Generation	5.21	1	5.21	18.86*
Cultural Group	1.07	2	.53	1.93
Generation x Cultural Group	.80	2	.40	1.44
Total	56.40	186		

*p < .01.

Research Question 2: Do Any Differences in the Types and Intensity of Stressors Exist with Respect to Generation?

Family stressors. To examine differences between generations on intensity of family stressors, an ANOVA was conducted (see Table 12). A significant main effect was found F(1, 182) = 9.30, p < .01 , indicating that second-generation individuals (M = 2.12, SD = .56) reported experiencing significantly more family stressors than immigrants (M = 1.89, SD = .51).   A main effect was not found for cultural group, indicating this to be consistent across all three F(2, 182) = 1.646, p = .196.

Table 12

ANOVA Summary For Family Stressors

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Generation	2.66	1	2.66	9.31*
Cultural Group	.94	2	.47	1.65
Generation x Cultural Group	.36	2	.18	.64
Total	54.08	182		

*$p < .01$.

General stressors. To compare the two generation groups on general stressors, an ANOVA was conducted (see Table 13). No differences between the two groups was found $F(1, 135) = .10$, $p = .751$), suggesting that immigrants and second-generation individuals reported experiencing similar levels of general stressors. In addition, no differences were found between cultural groups $F(2, 135) = .065$, $p = .937$.

Table 13

ANOVA Summary For General Stressors

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Generation	.02	1	.02	.10
Cultural Group	.03	2	.01	.07
Generation x Cultural Group	.01	2	.00	.02
Total	27.715	135		

Outgroup stressors. An ANOVA was conducted to explore differences between generations on experiences of outgroup stressors (see Table 14).

Initial analyses with the full sample indicated that variances were not equal across groups compared. Thus, to create equal sample sizes in all the groups, participants were randomly eliminated from this analysis by using an option on the SPSS program. According to (Kirk, 1982), if sample sizes are equal in all groups compared, then violation of the basic assumptions of the ANOVA is justified. ANOVA results from the reduced sample indicate a significant trend for immigrants ($\underline{M}$ = 1.90, $\underline{SD}$ = .70) to experience more outgroup stressors than second-generation individuals ($\underline{M}$ = 1.58, $\underline{SD}$ = .43; $\underline{F}$(1, 149) = 10.46, $\underline{p}$ < .01). This trend was also consistent across cultural groups ($\underline{F}$(2, 149) = 2.43, $\underline{p}$ = .09).

Table 14

ANOVA Summary For Outgroup Stressors

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Generation	3.77	1	3.77	10.46*
Cultural Group	1.75	2	.88	2.43
Generation x Cultural Group	.64	2	.32	.89
Total	58.46	149		

*$\underline{p}$ < .01.

Ingroup stressors. A similar procedure as outlined above was conducted for the ingroup stressors analysis (see Table 15). After randomly deleting participants' data to create equal sample sizes for all groups, an ANOVA was conducted. It was revealed that the second-generation group ($\underline{M}$ = 1.96, $\underline{SD}$ = .78) reported experiencing significantly more ingroup stressors than the immigrant group ($\underline{M}$ = 1.59, $\underline{SD}$ = .48; $\underline{F}$(1, 155) = 14.08, $\underline{p}$ < .01).

Again, no significant differences were found between cultural groups $F(2, 155)$ = 3.92, p = .03).

Table 15

ANOVA Summary For Ingroup Stressors

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Generation	5.00	1	5.00	14.08*
Cultural Group	2.78	2	1.39	3.92
Generation x Cultural Group	.90	2	.45	1.26
Total	61.45	155		

*p < .01.

Research Question 3: Do Differences Exist with Regards to the Level of Identification with Both the Heritage Cultural Group and Host Cultural Group Endorsed by The Two Generations?

Identification with ingroup in private domain. An ANOVA was performed to investigate the differences between the two generations in terms of strength of identity with the heritage group in private domains (see Table 16). The analysis revealed no significant differences between generations $F(1, 186)$ = .15, p = .70), or cultural groups $F(2, 186)$ = 1.23, p = .29).

Table 16

ANOVA Summary For Identification with Ingroup in Private Domain

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Generation	.08	1	.08	.15
Cultural Group	1.27	2	.64	1.23
Generation x Cultural Group	.05	2	.02	.04
Total	94.82	186		

Identification with outgroup in private domain. To compare immigrants and second-generations on strength of identity with the outgroup in private domains, an ANOVA was conducted (see Table 17). Results indicated a significant difference between generations ($F(1, 186) = 10.03$, $p < .01$), such that the immigrant group ($M = 3.10$, $SD = .84$) reported higher levels of identification with the outgroup in private domains than the second-generation group ($M = 2.79$, $SD = .70$). Significant differences did not occur between cultural groups $F(2, 186) = 3.85$, $p = .02$).

Table 17

ANOVA Summary For Identification with Outgroup in Private Domain

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Generation	5.82	1	5.82	10.03*
Cultural Group	4.47	2	2.23	3.85
Generation x Cultural Group	3.64	2	1.82	3.14
Total	116.73	186		

*$p < .01$.

Identification with ingroup in public domain. An ANOVA was carried out

to compare the two generations on strength of identity with the ingroup in

public domains (see Table 18). No significant differences were found between

generation $F(1, 186) = 1.52$, $p = .22$, however differences did occur between

the cultural groups $F(2, 186) = 6.52$, $p < .01$. Bonferroni Post-hocs were

performed to further examine where the differences between the cultural

groups lie. It was found that the Asian group ($M = 3.22$, $SD = .79$) reported

significantly higher levels of identification with the ingroup in public domains

than the Middle Eastern group ($M = 2.78$, $SD = .66$; $p < .01$).

Table 18

ANOVA Summary For Identification with Ingroup in Public Domain

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Generation	.84	1	.84	1.52
Cultural Group	7.20	2	3.60	6.52*
Generation x Cultural Group	.33	2	.17	.30
Total	107.92	186		

*$p < .01$.

Identification with outgroup in public domain. Finally, to examine

differences between the immigrant group and the second-generation group on

levels of identification with the outgroup in public domains, an ANOVA was

conducted (see Table 19). Results indicated a significant main effect for

generation $F(1, 186) = 16.82$, $p < .001$), such that immigrants ($M = 3.18$, $SD =$

.87) reported higher levels of identification with the outgroup in the public

domain than second-generations ($M = 2.76$, $SD = .73$). A main effect was also

found for cultural group $F(2, 186) = 4.59$, $p = .01$), however, subsequent Bonferroni Post-Hocs revealed that the differences between the groups were not statistically significant.

Table 19

ANOVA Summary For Identification with Outgroup in Public Domain

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Generation	10.36	1	10.36	16.82*
Cultural Group	5.65	2	2.83	4.59
Generation x Cultural Group	6.47	2	3.24	5.25*
Total	130.55	186		

*$p < .01$.

Research Question 4: Do the Various Acculturation-Related Stressors Differentially Predict Psychological Adjustment for the Two Groups?

Prediction of depression for immigrants. Stepwise multiple regression analyses were performed to determine the best predictors of depression for the immigrant group (see Table 20). To determine what variables should be entered as predictors in the regression equation, Tabachnick and Fidell (1996) suggest first examining correlations between the criterion variable and other variables of interest. Based on the significant correlations obtained between depression and self-esteem, outgroup stressors, ingroup stressors, and general stressors for immigrants, these variables were entered into the regression analysis. Self-esteem ($t = 5.92$, $p < .001$), general stressors ($t = 2.61$, $p < .05$), and outgroup stressors ($t = -2.44$, $p < .05$) were each found to

be significant predictors for depression for the immigrant group, and together they accounted for 67% of the variance in depression.

Table 20

Summary of Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Depression for Immigrants

Variable	B	SE	Beta
Self-Esteem	-.60	.10	-.54**
General Stressors	.29	.11	.24*
Outgroup Stressors	-.16	.07	-.23*

*p < .01. **p < .05.

Prediction of self-esteem for immigrants. Upon inspection of the correlation matrix, it was found that for the immigrant group, of all the major variables in this study, only depression was significantly related to self-esteem. No other correlations yielded significant results. Therefore a regression analysis was not computed for self-esteem for the immigrant group.

Prediction of depression for second-generations. To determine the best predictors of depression for the Second-Generation group, stepwise multiple regression analyses were conducted, utilizing the same methods as above (see Table 21). Correlational analyses indicated self-esteem, ingroup stressors, general stressors, and family stressors to be significantly related to depression for the second-generation group. The analysis revealed self-esteem (t = -4.615, p < .001), general stressors (t = 3.01; p < .01), and ingroup stressors (t = 2.82, p < .01) to be the strongest predictors of depression, and

when combined, account for 80% of the variance in depression for the immigrant group.

Table 21

Summary of Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Depression for Second-Generations

Variable	B	SE	Beta
Self-Esteem	-.35	.08	-.48*
General Stressors	.22	.07	.25*
Ingroup Stressors	.18	.07	.29*

*p < .01.

Prediction of self-esteem for second-generations. Depression, Ingroup stressors, and Family stressors yielded significant correlations with Self-Esteem for the Second-Generation group, and thus were entered into the regression equation. The analysis (see Table 22) showed Depression and Ingroup stressors to be significant predictors of Self-Esteem, together accounting for 76% of the variance in Second-Generation Self-Esteem scores.

Table 22

Summary of Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Self-Esteem for Second-Generations

Variable	B	SE	Beta
Depression	-.61	.12	-.47*
Ingroup Stressors	-.32	.08	-.38*

*p < .01.

Research Question 5:   What is the Relationship Between Ethnic Identity and Psychological Well-Being for Both Generations?

Pearson correlational analyses were conducted between all major variables of interest separately for the immigrant and second-generation group (see Tables 23 and 24). Again, due to the high number of correlations calculated, a significance level of .01 was selected.

Ethnic identity and well-being for immigrants. Correlations computed between the four identity scales and the two indicators of psychological well-being (i.e., self-esteem and depression) for the immigrant group, revealed no statistically significant relationships.

Ethnic identity and well-being for second-generations. As for the immigrant group, no statistically significant correlations existed between the four identity scales and the two indicators of psychological well-being (i.e., self-esteem and depression).

Research Question 6: For Both Groups, What is the Relationship Between Ethnic Identity and the Types of Stressors Experienced?

Ethnic identity and stressors for immigrants. For the immigrant group, correlational analyses revealed that of the four identity scales and the four types of stressors, only one relationship proved to be statistically significant. This was a negative correlation between outgroup stressors and identification with the ingroup in the public domain (r [104] = -.25, p < .01). All other correlations yielded non-significant correlations.

<u>Ethnic identity and stressors for second-generations.</u> For the second-generation group, of the four identity scales and the four types of stressors, only one correlation proved to be statistically significant. This was between outgroup stressors and identification with the outgroup in the public domain (r [80] = .30, p < .01). No other correlations were statistically significant.

Table 23

Correlations Between Major Variables for Immigrant Group

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Depression	--	-.53*	-.28*	.26*	-.07	.25	-.02	-.08	.02	-.16
2. Self-Esteem		--	.09	-.08	.06	-.05	.09	.05	-.10	.08
3. Outgroup Stressors			--	-.08	.12	.02	-.22	.11	-.25*	.08
4. Ingroup Stressors				--	.17	.05	-.04	.23	.00	.17
5. Family Stressors					--	.26	-.04	.18	-.02	.15
6. General Stressors						--	.00	.14	-.01	.17
7. Identification with Ingroup in Private Domain							--	-.40*	.78*	-.33*
8. Identification with Outgroup in Private Domain								--	-.29*	.91*
9. Identification with Ingroup in Public Domain									--	-.30*
10. Identification with Outgroup in Public Domain										--

*$p < .01$.

Table 24

Correlations Between Major Variables for Second-Generation Group

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Depression	--	-.65*	.28*	.59*	.52*	.44*	-.14*	-.13	-.14	-.06
2. Self-Esteem		--	-.19	-.62*	-.41*	-.24*	.15	-.06	.02	-.11
3. Outgroup Stressors			--	.10	.20	.28*	-.19	.22	-.28*	.30*
4. Ingroup Stressors				--	.49*	.23	.07	.04	.16	.03
5. Family Stressors					--	.32*	-.08	.06	-.01	.11
6. General Stressors						--	-.22	-.06	-.25	-.06
7. Identification with Ingroup in Private Domain							--	-.50*	.84*	-.39*
8. Identification with Outgroup in Private Domain								--	-.35*	.89*
9. Identification with Ingroup in Public Domain									--	-.37*
10. Identification with Outgroup in Public Domain										--

*p < .01

Summary

In summary, the results demonstrated significant differences between the generations on depression, self-esteem, family, outgroup, and ingroup stressors, and identification with the outgroup in the private domain and in the public domain. All other comparisons yielded insignificant results. With regards to prediction of psychological well-being, it was found that for immigrants, self-esteem, general stressors, and outgroup stressors predicted depression, whereas for second-generation individuals, self-esteem, general stressors, and ingroup stressors predicted depression, and depression and ingroup stressors predicted self-esteem. Finally, correlational analyses revealed a significant negative relationship between outgroup stressors and identification with the ingroup in the public domain for the immigrant group, and a positive significant correlation between outgroup stressors and identification with the outgroup in the public domain for the second-generation group. No other correlations were statistically significant. In the following chapter, the implications of these findings will be discussed.

CHAPTER V

Discussion

The following section will discuss the results of the current study and integrate the findings of those with previous studies. Limitations and implications of the study will be addressed as well as suggestions for future research.

Psychological Well-Being

The first objective of the current study was to determine whether differences existed between the two generation groups with respect to levels of psychological adjustment, as indicated by levels of self-esteem and depression. The results show that second-generation individuals reported significantly higher levels of depression than immigrants. Though this difference was significant, it is important to note that the level of depression was relatively low in this sample. Similarly, the immigrant group indicated higher levels of self-esteem than the second-generation group. Again, for both groups, self-esteem levels were relatively high.

Both self-esteem and depression are related to general mental health (Pilay, du-Plessis, Vawda, & Pollock, 1994) and associated with anxiety and psychosomatic symptoms (Rosenberg, 1965). Thus, these indicators suggest that second-generation individuals may be more susceptible to psychological distress than immigrants, which is congruent with previous findings that suggest similar patterns (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001; Escobar, 1998; Heras & Revilla, 1994; Rumbaut, 1994; Vega et al., 1998). While the scales used in

the present study, in particular the depression scale (SDS), were chosen due to their allowance for cross-cultural differences in experiencing and reporting distress, these scales are surely not without cultural bias, and thus, these results must be interpreted cautiously. Nonetheless, possible explanations for these observed differences will be discussed in more detail upon closer inspection of the remaining findings.

Acculturative Stressors

The second objective of this study was to compare the generations with regards to the type and intensity of stressors experienced. It was hoped that such an examination would provide valuable insight into the different experiences of the two groups as well as potential reasons for differences in psychological adjustment. First, the number of general stressors experienced was not different between the generations. Because general stressors are not specific to the acculturation process, this finding is not surprising. Interestingly, however, significant differences existed between immigrants and second-generation individuals on the three acculturation-specific stressors: ingroup, outgroup, and family.

Ingroup stressors were significantly more common among the second-generation group than among the immigrant group. Furthermore, this trend was consistent across the three cultural groups in this study. This finding is consistent with Abouguendia and Noels' (2001) finding in their study of South Asian immigrants and second-generation individuals. Less knowledge of their heritage language, more contact with the outgroup, and less contact with the

ingroup, were all possible reasons cited by Abouguendia and Noels (2001) for the higher levels of ingroup stress experienced by second-generation individuals. Though second-generation individuals may desire to become close to and identify with their cultural group, they may perceive themselves to be less familiar with traditional cultural customs, which may lead to feelings of alienation from the ingroup. An alternate explanation put forth by Abouguendia and Noels (2001) was that as a result of the challenging nature of the immigration experience, ingroup cohesion among immigrants may intensify, resulting in fewer ingroup stressors among this generation group.

On the other hand, the results of the current study revealed that the immigrant group experienced significantly more outgroup stressors than the second-generation group, which again was robust across cultural groups. Though not statistically significant, Abouguendia and Noels (2001) also identified a similar trend. This finding makes sense in light of the language competency differences between generations and differences in amount of exposure to the host culture. These differences likely place second-generation individuals at a distinct advantage when interacting with members of the host culture, which may lead to fewer incidences of discrimination and prejudice. These suggestions are further supported by Lay and Nguyen's (1998) finding that the more recent the immigrants were to Canada, the more outgroup stressors they encountered. Furthermore, the experience of greater outgroup stressors may further explain why immigrants experience fewer ingroup stressors. Pak, Dion, and Dion (1991) reported that experiencing

prejudice and discrimination promoted greater ingroup cohesion. Thus, the experience of a greater number of outgroup stressors and the resulting increased group cohesion may account for why immigrants are less likely to experience ingroup stressors than their second-generation counterparts.

The current study found that among all three ethnic groups, family stressors were more frequently encountered by the second-generation group than the immigrant group. A similar tendency was identified by Abouguendia and Noels (2001) and Lay and Nguyen (1998). There are several potential reasons for this observed difference. First, geography may play a role. Presumably second-generation individuals will have more contact with their families than immigrants, who more likely have family members residing in their countries of origin. Thus, simply having more frequent contact with family members can lead to increased levels of family stressors for second-generation individuals.

A second potential variable is level of acculturation. In a recent study of Hispanic refugee parent-adolescent dyads, Merali (2001) found that the adolescents tended to be more acculturated than their parents. She went on to suggest that the disparity between the youth and their families likely increase as the youth become more acculturated, which may produce stress within the family. Along this line, Abouguendia and Noels (2001) found that among immigrants, endorsement of assimilation predicted family stressors. It is possible that the second-generation individuals in the current study were more acculturated than the immigrant group and thus experiencing a greater

sense of distance from their family members. Furthermore, Lee (1988) suggests that frustration may emanate from second-generation individuals' perception that their parents' are incompetent in the language of the host country and unfamiliar with the host society's culture.

Another possible explanation emerges from a study done by Fuligni and Tseng (1999) who found that second- and third-generation adolescents were more likely than their immigrant and refugee counterparts to openly voice disagreement with their parents. Merali (2001) suggests that this difference may reflect greater exposure of second- and third- generations to Western culture, which can place less of a taboo on disagreeing with parents. That is, less reported family stressors of the immigrant group in this current study may reflect a value voicing disagreement with one's parents.

The experience of family conflicts have been shown to be significantly related to difficulties with children of immigrants from behavioural and disciplinary problems (Aycan & Kanungo, 1998) to overall well-being (Pawliuk, et al., 1996; Rumbaut, 1994). Conversely, Heras and Revilla (1994), demonstrated adjustment to be related to greater levels of family satisfaction and cohesion.

The buffering effects of both social support (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Merali, 2001) and familial support (Heras & Revilla, 1994; Kuo & Tsai, 1986; Vega et al., 1987) against psychological distress are well documented. Thus, it is arguable that the combined impact of high levels of ingroup and family

stressors place second-generation individuals in a more vulnerable position to psychological distress.

Ethnic Identity

In Abouguendia and Noels' (2001) study, immigrants and second-generations did not differ in their acculturation attitudes. The results of the current study, which examined ethnic identity across contexts rather than general acculturation attitudes, indicate that some differences do exist between the two generations with respect to their levels of ethnic identification across domains.

The current findings revealed that the two generation groups did not differ in their level of identification with the ingroup in either the private or public domain. That is, the individuals in this sample, regardless of generation, associated strongly with their own cultural groups across contexts. Given that this sample consisted predominantly of individuals involved in groups of a cultural or religious nature, this finding is not surprising. Examination of all the remaining ethnic identity variables however, revealed interesting relationships.

First, differences emerged in terms of identification with the outgroup. Specifically, the immigrant group was found to identify more strongly with the outgroup in both private and public contexts than the second-generation group. This may be due to the fact that immigrants likely come to Canada with the intent to assimilate to some degree and with some amount of enthusiasm for embracing the Western culture. Second-generation individuals on the

other hand, are not minorities by choice, and therefore may not share these intentions or this enthusiasm.

Ogbu (1994) identified different types of minority status, among which are voluntary and involuntary minorities. According to Ogbu, voluntary minorities, usually immigrants, voluntarily migrate in hopes of achieving a better life economically, politically, and/or socially. Non-voluntary minorities, on the other hand include, individuals whose ancestors were brought to a country against their will or whose land was forceably taken from them through slavery, colonization, conquest, or forced labour (e.g., African Americans or Native Americans). Ogbu contends that whereas voluntary minorities may embrace the various institutions of the host society, non-voluntary minorities may reject these same values. Though Ogbu's distinction did not include second-generation minorities, it may be interesting to consider the differences between immigrants and second-generation individuals' identity in light of this theory, that is, to consider second-generation individuals as involuntary minorities.

Ogbu (1994) argues that involuntary minorities reject certain aspects of the host culture (behaviour, events, and symbols) because they represent the mainstream society, a response called *cultural inversion*. Cultural inversion can take on different forms, from using jargon whose meanings are known only to the ingroup, different communication styles specific to the ingroup, or the blatant rejection of mainstream values and behaviours. Thus, in the experience of the nonvoluntary minority, cultural inversion results in two

opposing cultural influences or ideals simultaneously influencing behaviour. Ogbu describes that involuntary minorities often work hard to maintain their cultural distinctiveness, as letting it go, or embracing aspects of the host culture, will threaten their identity, security, community, and self-worth. Moreover, social pressure exists to reject the values of the mainstream culture. Often, involuntary minorities are discouraged by their peers from adopting mainstream values. So fear of being perceived as "acting White", may add more to the resistance of identifying with the mainstream.

Ogbu (1994) makes an additional distinction between primary and secondary cultural differences, which are associated with voluntary and nonvoluntary minorities respectively. Primary cultural differences are differences that were in existence prior to contact between different cultural groups, for example the differences that existed prior to immigration. Secondary cultural differences on the other hand are differences that emerge after two cultures come into contact or after the minorities take part in institutions dominated by the mainstream group. Thus, minorities acquire secondary cultural differences as a means of contending with their subordination, either through modifying preexisting cultural differences or developing new cultural behaviours. Secondary cultural differences, according to Ogbu are often connected with ambivalent or oppositional identities among nonvoluntary minorities.

Furthermore, Ogbu (1994) points out that a great sense of distress may come from the knowledge nonvoluntary minorities have that they can neither

pass as White nor return to their homeland; a sentiment that may apply to the position of second-generation individuals. Similarly, immigrants have a reference point to which to compare their current lifestyle, which is "back home" which offers a sense of success and progress. Not having this frame of reference, as is usually the case with non-voluntary minorities, reduces the chances of this feeling of improvement or achievement.

Thus, perhaps due to their relatively involuntary minority status, second-generation individuals are less likely than their immigrant counterparts to embrace the host culture, and therefore identify less with the outgroup than the immigrant group. Furthermore, a sense of ambivalence may be engendered by the attempts to negotiate multiple and often conflicting cultural influences. In fact, this ambivalence appears to be a theme supported by the current data, which often demonstrates conflicting desires on the part of second-generation individuals. This desire to identify with ingroup and reject the outgroup, is incongruent with the resistance to traditional values at home (as evidenced by greater family stressors). Thus, it appears that the second-generation group is struggling to balance the two cultures, taking the best of both and rejecting the negative of both. While this may not necessarily be a negative approach, it may lead to a feeling of not completely fitting in with either group, which likely has adverse effects for well-being. In fact, as has been demonstrated with various cultural groups, marginalization (i.e., lack of identification with either the host or heritage group) is the least effective

acculturation strategy, and is associated with uncertainty, anxiety, estrangement, and loss of identity (Berry, 1997).

A second interesting phenomenon was revealed in the data, in which the East Asian group reported higher levels of identification with the ingroup in the public domain than the Middle Eastern group. This finding may be due to the fact that Middle Eastern individuals are a relatively more recent group to immigrate to Canada as well as a relatively smaller ethnic group. Due to their less established presence, they may feel less comfortable identifying with their heritage culture in public. Also, due to their more recent immigration status, there may be less understanding and awareness of this culture among the host society. This lack of understanding may place the Middle Eastern cultural group at more risk for experiencing incidents of prejudice or discrimination. Furthermore, given the current conflict in the Middle East, this may be a time of heightened negative feelings towards this group. It is possible that, in the face of these perceptions of racism and prejudice, Middle Eastern Individuals cope by identifying less with their own cultural group while in public.

Prediction of Psychological Adjustment

Congruent with past research, both general stressors (Almeida & Kessler, 1998; Burks & Martin, 1983; DeLongis et al., 1982; Eckenrode, 1984; Flett et al., 1995; Ruffin, 1993) and self-esteem (Eronen & Nurmi, 1999) were strong predictors of depression for both the immigrant and second-generation groups. However, the psychological implications of the various types of acculturation-specific stressors appear to depend on the generational status of

the individual. For the immigrant group, outgroup stressors were key in predicting psychological adjustment, whereas ingroup stressors played this role for the second-generation individuals. That is, problems arising from interactions with the host group (e.g., perceptions of discrimination and prejudice, host language difficulties), play a great role in the adjustment of immigrants, whereas difficulties arising from interactions within the ethnic group (e.g., heritage language difficulties, feelings of isolation from ingroup), play a strong role in second-generation adjustment.

Among the immigrant group, outgroup stressors were a strong predictor of depression. This finding is contrary to both Abouguendia and Noels' (2001) and Lay and Nguyen's (1998) findings, who both found outgroup stressors to be unrelated to distress for immigrants. It is, however, consistent with Safdar and Lay (1999), who found outgroup stressors to be positively associated with depression. In fact, in the current study, a reverse trend from that of Abouguendia and Noels (2001) was discovered. That is, in the present study, outgroup stressors were predictive of depression for immigrants and not second-generations, while Abouguendia and Noels (2001) found outgroup stressors to be linked to depression for the second-generation group and not the immigrant group. This finding also complies with the large body of research that consistently demonstrates the effects of prejudice and discrimination on well-being (Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Rumbaut, 1994; Verkuyten, 1998). Interesting explanations emerge when one considers this result in combination with the finding that immigrants report higher levels of

identification with the outgroup. Because the immigrant group identified more with the mainstream group, it is reasonable to expect that difficulties with the very group they want to identify with will be that much more disturbing. Alternately, it is possible that, in response to such difficulties (be it difficulties communicating, experiences with prejudice), the immigrant group wants to identify more with the outgroup, which can also be a source of psychological distress.

Ingroup stressors played a significant role in predicting both depression and self-esteem for the second-generation group. That is, a lack of fluency in one's heritage language, feeling alienated from or rejected by one's cultural community, and feeling as though one is perceived as rejecting their cultural heritage, have important implications for second-generation individuals' psychological health. Lay and Nguyen (1998) also found depression to be related to ingroup stressors, however, this was for a sample of immigrants. Abouguendia and Noels (2000) also found ingroup stressors to be significant predictors of well-being for both immigrants and second-generation individuals. Knowledge of the heritage language may be key in this relationship. Lay and Nguyen (1998) and Krishnan and Berry (1992) both found that fluency in the heritage language was negatively associated with psychological distress. In light of Ward and Kennedy's (1994) suggestion that support from one's ethnic group serves to buffer the effects of stress on psychological adjustment, it makes sense that an absence of such support or the prevalence of problems with the ingroup (as illustrated by higher levels of

ingroup stressors) would have negative consequences for psychological health. Moreover, if second-generations have a desire to become a part of their cultural group, judgment from the ingroup (for a number of possible reasons such as heritage language incompetency, adopting host society's values, and unfamiliarity with cultural customs) can be especially detrimental to this group's psychological well-being. Finally, inconsistent findings regarding the impact of ingroup stressors on psychological health may reflect cultural differences. For example, these cultures may tend to value collectivism versus individualism. Thus, it would be expected that difficulties within the group could be especially detrimental to the psychological health of members of collectivistic cultures. Because the current sample predominantly consisted of individuals active in their cultural communities, the importance of ingroup stressors may be more pronounced in this group than others. Nevertheless, the important role of ingroup experiences in the prediction of well-being is critical to note, as the role of the ethnic group is rarely addressed in the research, and requires more in depth examination in the future.

Ethnic Identity and Psychological Well-Being

For both generation groups, there was no evidence to suggest that ethnic identity was linked to either of the psychological well-being indicators of depression and self-esteem. Note that, while this finding is consistent with Abouguendia and Noels (2001), it is inconsistent with research that demonstrates the predictive role of ethnic identity in overall mental health (Sanchez & Fernandez, 1993). Perhaps the approach utilized to examine

ethnic identity in this study was too simplistic, as the concept of ethnic identity is likely more complex than a basic categorization of current feelings, attitudes, and behaviours.

A more developmental approach, as based on the ideas of Erikson (1968) and Marcia (1980) may prove more useful. This developmental perspective takes into account the process that has led to one's current level of ethnic identity. For example, consider three individuals with strong levels of identification with their heritage culture: one who achieved this via exploration and subsequent acceptance and pride in his or her cultural background, another who achieved this as a means of coping with and escaping from negative outgroup experiences, and yet another who has committed to this identity based on parental values without exploration. All three of these individuals would be categorized as expressing high levels of ethnic identity, yet the processes by which they came to this would certainly differentially affect their psychological well-being.

Both Erikson (1968) and Marcia (1980) emphasize the importance of exploration, experimentation, and subsequent commitment with respect to identity achievement, and its resulting impacts on well being. However, the current study did not examine such developmental information, thus limiting the exploration into ethnic identity. Future investigations into ethnic identity should consider a developmental perspective to advance our understanding of this complex construct.

Ethnic Identity and Acculturative Stressors

For both immigrants and second-generation individuals, outgroup stressors were the only stressor type related to ethnic identity. The results indicated that, among immigrants, as experience with outgroup stressors increased, the tendency to publicly identify with their own cultural group decreased. On the other hand, for second-generation individuals, experiencing greater levels of outgroup stressors was related to higher levels of identification with the outgroup in the public domain. This interesting finding may reveal a differential pattern of responding to difficulties with the mainstream society. Immigrants may respond to such difficulties by hiding or shedding distinctive cultural attributes in public, whereas second-generations may emphasize identifying more strongly with the mainstream group. However, a causal direction cannot be claimed in either of these relationships. That is, these groups may also be encountering increased resistance from the host society as a *result* of their attempts to fit in.

Limitations of the Current Study

Some limitations in the present study need to be identified and addressed for future research. First and foremost, is the highly selective nature of the sample utilized in the study. That is, the sample consisted predominantly of individuals who were actively involved in organizations of a cultural or religious nature, and thus this sample only represents a small segment of the greater ethnic population, a segment that is more actively involved with their ethnic communities and thus at different stages of the

acculturation process. The results are therefore generalizable only to individuals who are actively involved in such organizations. Furthermore, this sample is likely a more educated segment of the ethnic population, as much of the recruitment was done through university-based groups. This limitation is common given that most studies with immigrant samples employ non-probability, network, or convenient sampling strategies to minimize the risk that individuals in multicultural populations agree to participation based on cultural values of respect for authority and unassertiveness (Pernice, 1994), as well as methodological difficulties in obtaining adequately sized samples from multicultural populations (Ogazaki & Sue, 1998; van de Vijver & Leung, 1997).

A second limitation, as is common in cross-cultural research studies, is that limited access to participants required the combining of data from a range of cultural groups from within broad regions (Ogazaki & Sue, 1998; van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). The crude groupings of participants into South Asians, East Asians, and Middle Eastern, though necessary in the current study, lead to overestimating the homogeneity of these groups. Certainly, a multitude of variations exist within these groups, such as religion practiced, language spoken, and various customs and demographic variables. Thus, it must not be forgotten that these three groups in fact represent heterogeneous groups of people. It is also important to note that certain assumptions were made when selecting the sample for the current study. The principal assumption was that by virtue of being a visible ethnic minority, these individuals shared to some degree similar experiences related to their ethnic minority status – which of

course, may not necessarily be the case. The assumption was also made that these individuals identified themselves as being ethnically diverse. Again, this may not necessarily have been the case with all individuals.

A third limitation is the possibility that the participants responded in a socially-desirable manner. According to Pernice (1994), when upstanding and respected members of the ethnic community are involved in the study procedure, the risk for socially desirable responding increases. The individuals who helped arrange for participants, and the translators who helped with the administration of the questionnaires, were likely well-respected and active members within the ethnic community and this may have prompted the participants to answer in a socially desirable manner. Furthermore, a possible stigma with respect to reporting negative feelings and experiences may have prevented individuals from responding openly.

Implications for Counselling

The current study has implications for counsellors working with multicultural populations. First, counsellors need to be aware of the various issues and complex dynamics that affect ethnic minority individuals. This is critical because counsellors need to be prepared to ask helpful questions, explore pertinent issues, and attempt to understand the perspectives of these individuals.

As evidenced by the relationship between outgroup stressors and depression for immigrants, this study has demonstrated the adverse affects perceptions of prejudice and racism have on this group. Thus, beyond being

issues that may need to be addressed in counselling, the counselor must address these issues with him or herself. Counsellors must be aware of, confront, and continually reassess their own biases to ensure that they do not play out in the counselling session. A lack of awareness in this regard can only be detrimental to the therapeutic relationship and progress of counselling. This further emphasizes the need for multicultural training as a necessary component for counsellor training programs versus an optional component. Counsellors must also be prudent in recognizing that not all clients of colour identify themselves culturally distinct. Thus, it is necessary to not make assumptions pertaining to their ethnicity and experiences.

Furthermore, as more research points to the cultural group itself as a potential source of distress for ethnic individuals, the need to explore a client's experiences with his or her own cultural group can be important.

The role of family stress in psychological adjustment has been demonstrated. Thus, family modalities of counseling, when culturally appropriate, should be regarded as a viable option when working with ethnic individuals. It must be noted however, that family counseling may not be appropriate with all cultural groups, as many cultures feel it is unacceptable to involve individuals from outside of the family in family problems.

The current study has shown ethnic identity to depend on the context, which is something that needs to be understood by the counsellor. That is, a client's level of ethnic identity may shift depending on the context, and this is not necessarily indicative of lack of achieved identity. Furthermore, the level

of identification towards the ingroup or outgroup that a particular individual chooses must be respected and honoured by the counsellor. Whether a client chooses to strongly identify with their heritage culture, or whether they prefer to identify with the host culture is a personal decision that can only be made by that individual. Though exploration may be worthwhile, in the end, it is the client who decides their level of identification with both groups.

Finally, this study has highlighted important differences between immigrants and second-generation individuals with respect to a number of variables. Thus, it is crucial that counsellors keep in mind that these groups likely face completely different issues. Just as Ogazaki and Sue (1998) warn, it is easy to underestimate the differences in experiences between ethnic minority individuals.

It is worthy to note that value conflicts are inevitable in multicultural counselling situations. While several theories of counselling argue that counselors can sustain an objective position, and not allow for values to interfere in the counselling process (Ibrahim, 1996), it has been argued by others (Merali, 1999) that that despite the particular theoretical orientation, counselling cannot be value free. As a means of dealing with value conflicts that arise, Merali (1999) proposes introducing value negotiations in the counselling process. Value negotiations involves both the counsellor and client exploring the potential consequences of solutions from their respective value systems. Following this exploration, they would reach an agreement of which solution would best serve the interests of the client. Preferably, the

client and counsellor would be comfortable with the agreement they have reached (Merali, 1999).

Directions for Future Research

Future research should consider the influence of other background variables such as socioeconomic status, education level, reasons for migration, language competency in both the host and heritage language, and amount of contact with both the ingroup and outgroup. Also, assessing the role coping styles in this whole process would add another dimension to the acculturation process and advance our understanding even further, an approach recommended by Lazarus (1997).

While a great deal of attention has been paid to relations between cultural groups, less has been paid to relations within the cultural group. Since ingroup relations appear to be a critical factor with respect to psychological adjustment, further investigation into the role of this variable is warranted. For example, examining the relations between individuals of varying levels of ethnic identity within the community, investigating perceptions towards the various generations within the community, and exploring reactions to community members adopting outgroup values would prove to be very worthy topics for future research.

Finally, ethnic identity should be further explored as not simply a state, but as a developmental process. Works concerning ethnic identity development have been primarily theoretical in nature, thus further research, perhaps in the form of qualitative inquiry, may be useful. Qualitative

consideration of the path to one's ethnic identity, how and why one achieved this status of ethnic identity, may provide valuable insight into the role ethnic identity plays in the lives of both immigrants and second-generation individuals.

<u>Conclusion</u>

In conclusion, the present study has not only demonstrated the importance of distinguishing between the experiences and attitudes of immigrants and second-generation individuals but it has also shed some light on why some of these differences may exist. This is useful for furthering our understanding of the acculturation process for both of these groups. Since second-generation individuals have not been studied extensively in this manner, this study is one step towards enhancing our insight into their unique situations and the resulting impact on their psychological well-being. Alarmingly, the current findings indicate that this group may in fact be more vulnerable to psychological distress than was previously thought. This is vital information for multicultural researchers to consider because second-generation individuals are becoming an increasingly large segment of the North American population, and helping professionals need to be prepared to intervene and assist them.

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APPENDIX A

Background Information

Please print or mark your answers on the space provided.

Age:_____ years   Sex: Male___   Female___

I define my cultural heritage as:_____

Place of birth:_____

What is your mother's cultural heritage? _____
What is your father's cultural heritage? _____

Immigrant Status:
Canadian Citizen _____   Landed Immigrant _____   Visa Student _____
Other (please specify) _____

If not born in Canada, years in Canada: _____

Heritage Language (if other than English) _____

Occupation: Student_____   Other_____   (please specify)_____

Knowledge of English language:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
none	slightly	Somewhat	moderate	pretty good	fairly strong	native like

Knowledge of heritage language:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
none	slightly	Somewhat	moderate	pretty good	fairly strong	native like

APPENDIX B

Feelings

Please circle the number that best describes how often you have experienced these feelings <u>during the past few days</u>.

1 **None or a little** **of the time**	**2** **Some of** **the time**	**3** **Good part** **of the time**	**4** **Most or all** **of the time**

1.	I feel down-hearted, blue, and sad.	1	2	3	4
2.	Morning is when I feel the best.	1	2	3	4
3.	I have crying spells or feel like it.	1	2	3	4
4.	I have trouble sleeping through the night.	1	2	3	4
5.	I eat as much as I used to.	1	2	3	4
6.	I enjoy looking, talking to, and being with attractive women/men.	1	2	3	4
7.	I notice that I am losing weight.	1	2	3	4
8.	I have trouble with constipation.	1	2	3	4
9.	My heart beats faster than usual.	1	2	3	4
10.	I get tired for no reason.	1	2	3	4
11.	My mind is as clear as it used to be.	1	2	3	4
12.	I find it easy to do the things I used to.	1	2	3	4
13.	I am restless and I can't keep still.	1	2	3	4
14.	I feel hopeful about the future.	1	2	3	4
15.	I am more irritable than usual.	1	2	3	4
16.	I find it easy to make decisions.	1	2	3	4

1 None or a little of the time	2 Some of the time	3 Good part of the time	4 Most or all of the time

17. I feel that I am useful and needed.   1   2   3   4

18. My life is pretty full.   1   2   3   4

19. I feel that others would be better off if I were dead.   1   2   3   4

20. I still enjoy the things I used to do.   1   2   3   4

APPENDIX C

Feelings About Self

Please circle the number that best indicates the extent to which you agree with each of these statements.

1   **2**   **3**   **4**
Strongly   **Agree**   **Disagree**   **Strongly**
Agree   **Disagree**

1. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.
       1   2   3   4

2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
       1   2   3   4

3. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
       1   2   3   4

4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
       1   2   3   4

5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
       1   2   3   4

6. I take a positive attitude toward myself.
       1   2   3   4

7. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
       1   2   3   4

8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
       1   2   3   4

9. I certainly feel useless at times.
       1   2   3   4

10. At times I think I am no good at all.
       1   2   3   4

APPENDIX D

Daily Experiences

Following is a list of experiences which many people have at some time or another. Please indicate for each experience how much it has been a part of your life *over the past few months*.

Intensity of Experience Over Past Few Months

1 = *not at all* **part of my life**
2 = *only slightly* **part of my life**
3 = *more than slightly* **part of my life**
4 = *very much* **part of my life**

1. Often mistaken as a member of some other ethnic group.
   1   2   3   4

2. Overburdened with traditional family duties and obligations.
   1   2   3   4

3. Feeling that I am being taken advantage of by some of my peers/co-workers who are members of other ethnic groups.
   1   2   3   4

4. Not enough time to meet my obligations.
   1   2   3   4

5. My ideals being rejected by my family member(s) because they are seen as too "modern"
   1   2   3   4

6. Lack of money.
   1   2   3   4

7. Feeling that classmates/clients/customers/co-workers are discriminating against me by choosing to associate with my co-workers who belong to different ethnic groups.
   1   2   3   4

8. Arguing with spouse, boyfriend, or girlfriend.
   1   2   3   4

9. Irritated when someone in my ethnic group speaks English.
   1   2   3   4

10. My concept of potential spouse is dissimilar to my parents' concepts
    1   2   3   4

1 = *not at all* **part of my life**
2 = *only slightly* **part of my life**
3 = *more than slightly* **part of my life**
4 = *very much* **part of my life**

11. Not feeling "close" to other members of my ethnic group.
      1   2   3   4

12. Making decisions about my future career.
      1   2   3   4

13. Having problems finding the "right" (romantic) partner in life.
      1   2   3   4

14. Having educational goals which are not similar to those that my parents have for me.
      1   2   3   4

15. Conflicts with my parents.
      1   2   3   4

16. Feeling unorganized.
      1   2   3   4

17. My fluency in the language of my ethnic group being underestimated by other members of my ethnic group.
      1   2   3   4

18. Feeling isolated from my ethnic community.
      1   2   3   4

19. Speaking with my parents in my ethnic language even though I'm not entirely fluent in the language.
      1   2   3   4

20. Being let down or disappointed by friends.
      1   2   3   4

21. Having to consult the advise of my parents when making most decisions.
      1   2   3   4

22. Feeling that people from other ethnic groups react on a superficial friendship basis (e.g., phoning only for help on school work).
      1   2   3   4

23. Not feeling well-liked by other members of my ethnic group.
      1   2   3   4

1 = *not at all* part of my life
2 = *only slightly* part of my life
3 = *more than slightly* part of my life
4 = *very much* part of my life

24. Different values and beliefs from those of my parents.
    1   2   3   4

25. Doing favors for friends.
    1   2   3   4

26. Wanting to express an opinion or idea but unable to because of lack of fluency in English.
    1   2   3   4

27. Not feeling well-liked by people from other ethnic groups.
    1   2   3   4

28. People from my ethnic group not understanding my use of our language.
    1   2   3   4

29. Feeling pressured by parents to get into a "prestigious" career (e.g., medicine, law, etc,).
    1   2   3   4

30. Embarrassed when I do not understand my ethnic group's jokes and idioms.
    1   2   3   4

31. Meeting deadlines for paying tuition fees and related costs (e.g., health insurance plan).
    1   2   3   4

32. Feeling pressured by the need to follow the advice of my parents on important matters.
    1   2   3   4

33. Deciding whether certain actions are made because of my ethnic origin or because the person is just rude.
    1   2   3   4

34. Wanting to express an opinion/idea but unable to because of lack of fluency in the language of my ethnic group.
    1   2   3   4

35. Not having enough time to eat.
    1   2   3   4

1 = *not at all* part of my life
2 = *only slightly* part of my life
3 = *more than slightly* part of my life
4 = *very much* part of my life

36. Friends from my ethnic group speaking to me in English when I would prefer speaking to them in my ethnic language.
      1   2   3   4

37. Financially supporting family living here or in my country of birth.
      1   2   3   4

38. Feeling alienated by other cultural/ethnic groups.
      1   2   3   4

39. Others having difficulty understanding my English speech.
      1   2   3   4

40. Conflicts with behavior of my siblings (brothers and sisters).
      1   2   3   4

41. My expectations of my economic status for the future are dissimilar to my parents' expectations.
      1   2   3   4

42. Discomfort from not understanding English in-jokes and idioms.
      1   2   3   4

43. Not feeling "respectable" when being seen with or listening to a student/group from my culture.
      1   2   3   4

44. Feeling inferior when speaking to people from other ethnic groups.
      1   2   3   4

45. Dissatisfaction with my physical appearance.
      1   2   3   4

46. My fluency in English being underestimated by people from other ethnic groups.
      1   2   3   4

47. Having troubles finding a romantic partner from my ethnic group.
      1   2   3   4

48. Being perceived as "too white" by members of my ethnic group.
      1   2   3   4

Please answer the following questions if you are currently a student, otherwise please proceed to the next section.

1 = *not at all* part of my life
2 = *only slightly* part of my life
3 = *more than slightly* part of my life
4 = *very much* part of my life

49. Not keeping up with assigned readings.
        1   2   3   4

50. Struggling to manage my time while working and attending school.
        1   2   3   4

51. Not getting grades that I would like to.
        1   2   3   4

52. Getting books and other related materials for my courses.
        1   2   3   4

53. Skipping more classes than I should.
        1   2   3   4

54. Problems getting enrolled into courses.
        1   2   3   4

55. Thinking about dropping (a) course(s).
        1   2   3   4

APPENDIX E

Group Identification

The following statements describe different situations. Please indicate how much you identify with your cultural group and the host cultural group in each of the situations. Note that you may identify strongly with both cultural groups in some situations, and in other situations you may identify with neither of the cultural groups.

1. When I read the newspaper...

I identify with my cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

I identify with the host cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

2. When I listen to music...

I identify with my cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

I identify with the host cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

3. When dealing with merchants...

I identify with my cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

I identify with the host cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

4. When thinking about relations between my cultural group and the host culture…

I identify with my cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

I identify with the host cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

5. When I am with my friends…

I identify with my cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

I identify with the host cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

6. When I read for pleasure…

I identify with my cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

I identify with the host cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

7. When I think about my life's goals…

I identify with my cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

I identify with the host cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

8. When I participate in cultural activities…

       I identify with my cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

       I identify with the host cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

9. When I listen to the radio…

       I identify with my cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

       I identify with the host cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

10. When I prepare food…

       I identify with my cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

       I identify with the host cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

11. When I think about my future or present spouse…

       I identify with my cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

       I identify with the host cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

12. When I think about politics…

I identify with my cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

I identify with the host cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

13. When I watch the news on television…

I identify with my cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

I identify with the host cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

14. In my social contacts…

I identify with my cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

I identify with the host cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

15. When I am at home…

I identify with my cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

I identify with the host cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

16. When I travel…

I identify with my cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

I identify with the host cultural group:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	moderately	very much	completely

If you have any additional comments about this survey or any comments in general, please write them here.

Thank-you very much for your participation!

APPENDIX F

Stressors, Identity, and Psychological Adjustment of Immigrants and Second-Generation Individuals

Information Form
Please read the following section carefully, and keep this page for your information.

General Information:

You are invited to participate in the following study. This study is being conducted for a Master's thesis project for Mona Abouguendia under the supervision of Dr. Robin Everall in the department of Educational Psychology. This study examines individuals' cultural background, day-to-day experiences, and overall well-being. This study will focus specifically on immigrant and second-generation individuals. For the purposes of this study, immigrants are defined as those people who immigrated to Canada, and second-generation refers to the children of those people who immigrated. Your participation in this study will help us to further our understanding of the experiences, attitudes, and feelings of both immigrants and second-generation individuals.

In addition to being analyzed for a Master's thesis, the results of this study may be presented at conferences or published in professional journals. Responses however, will be reported in group form only. All data will be securely stored for seven years and thereupon destroyed.

Participation:

Your participation in this research is *voluntary*. You have the choice to not return this questionnaire with no risk to your academic status or access to services at the university if you are a student. Your responses on this questionnaire are *strictly confidential*, and will only be accessible to the primary researchers of this study (i.e., Mona Abouguendia and Dr. Robin Everall). Finally you will remain anonymous as your name will not appear on the questionnaire. **By returning this questionnaire, you indicate your willingness to participate in this study.**

For the results of this survey to be meaningful, it is important that you try to answer all questions as accurately and honestly as possible. This questionnaire should take 20-30 minutes to fill out. We ask that you try to complete this questionnaire in a quiet place, and that you answer all items. However, if you do not want to answer a specific item, you do not have to. We are not aware of any risks or harms that may result from participation in this study.

Please feel free to ask any questions you may have by contacting either of the researchers below. If you are interested in obtaining the results of this study, a research report will be made available in September 2001 by contacting either researcher. If you would like any further information about the study, please contact Dr. Robin Everall at (780) 492-1163 or email her at robin.everall@ualberta.ca. Please keep this sheet for your information.

Mona Abouguendia   Master's Student
Dr. Robin Everall   Supervisor   robin.everall@ualberta.ca   (780) 492-1163

APPENDIX G

Stressors, Identity, and Psychological Adjustment of Immigrants and Second-Generation Individuals

Feedback Sheet

Please read the following and keep this page for your information.

It has been shown that in addition to general everyday difficulties experienced by most people, immigrants may face daily problems specific to the experience of relocating and adjusting to a new country. Such difficulties may include conflicts with family members, conflicts with members of the cultural group, and experiences with discrimination and prejudice. These difficulties may be a significant source of stress for immigrants. Though a lot of research has studied immigrants, there is a lack of research regarding second-generations, or the children of individuals who immigrated. This study examined both general daily problems, and those problems specific to the experiences of immigrant and second-generation individuals. The amount one identifies with both their heritage culture and the host culture was also examined, as was well-being.

It is expected that both general everyday problems, and those specific to the experiences of immigrants and second-generations will contribute to distress. It is also expected that one's identity will be related to the frequency and type of everyday problems one experiences.

The information you provided on the questionnaire will help us to increase our understanding of the experiences and well-being of immigrants. Also, due to the lack of research regarding second-generations, the results will be very useful in attempting to understand how second-generations differ from immigrants in terms of their experiences and well-being.

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this survey. Again, if you are interested in the results of this study, or have any further questions, please contact either of the researchers below. If personal distress occurs as a result of participation, referrals for assistance can also be obtained by contacting the researchers below. Please keep this sheet for your information.
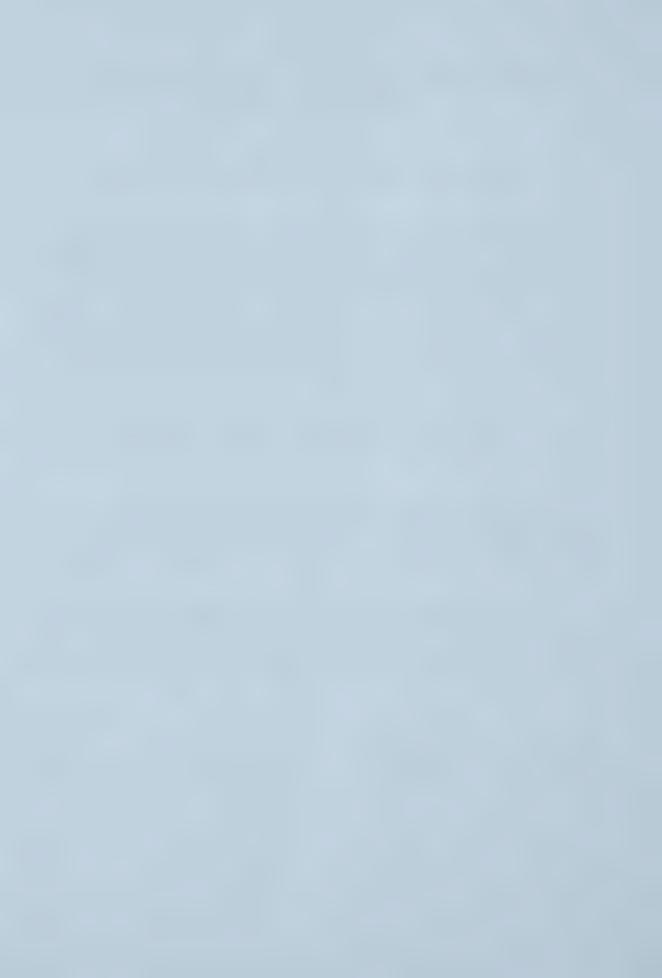
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